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A
GENERAL HISTORY
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE
IN
AMERICA:

Containing,
An HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, and COMMERCIAL VIEW
of the ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS ; including all the
COUNTRIES in NORTH-AMERICA, and the WEST-
INDIES, ceded by the PEACE of PARIS.

In TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

By MR. WYNNE.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE British nation, renowned through every age, never gained by all her conquests, even when her arms subdued France, and thundered at the gates of Paris, such a valuable acquisition as her settlements in North America. To lawless power, to faction, and to party rage, these spreading colonies sowed their firmest establishment. When the mother-country was in the most deplorable of situations, when the axe was laid to the root of the constitution, and all the fair blossoms of civil liberty were destroyed; even then, from the bare trunk, despoiled of all its honours, shot forth these branches, as from a stock, where native vigour was still kept alive.

The impolitic persecutions of king Charles, and his unwise ministry, forced numbers of his subjects to seek abroad that liberty of conscience they were denied at home. Happy had it been for that unfortunate prince, if he had never checked these emigrations. Had those, of whom he condescended to ask counsel, seen and attended to his interest, and that of the nation, they would have considered

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it as good policy, to let these high spirits take their course, and settle themselves in America, where it was plain they must be dependant on, and very likely that they would, in time, become serviceable to their mother-country. But they followed other methods; and the ruin of the king, together with the subversion of his government, chiefly by those very men whom he forbade to depart his dominions, were the consequences.

To rebellion succeeded anarchy, to anarchy, a despotism much worse than any the people had before complained of:—yet as the oppressed party became the victors, and ruled every thing at home, they were little disposed to colonize; and during the usurpation of Cromwell, greater numbers returned from America to England, than emigrated from England to America. The restoration once more changed the scene: patents and charters were freely granted by K. Charles II. to such of his subjects as chose to settle in the new world. James II. reviving the persecution of the dissenters, they still continued to flock thither; and in his reign, we find the colonies in a flourishing state. Convenience, and a love of independancy, have done since the revolution, that which persecution



INTRODUCTION. ▼

secution did before ; and we now behold these settlements arrived to such a height of power, as to be able to contest certain points with their mother-country, which, it is a great pity, should ever be brought into dispute.

When the Spaniards first discovered South-America, they found a beautiful and fertile country, filled with inhabitants; abounding with natural productions, and with mines of hidden treasure. They depopulated whole regions, slew thousands of the inhabitants, and compelled thousands to ransack the bowels of the earth for gold, to gratify their insatiable avarice.—What was the consequence?—They lost more by this conduct, than they gained by all the riches of Mexico and Peru; and Spain, to this day, has cause to curse the æra when the new world was discovered. Their gold serves only to enrich other nations; whereas commerce and good government would have enriched themselves: their ill-gotten wealth often proves an incitement to their neighbours to make war upon them; while Spain is perpetually drained of her inhabitants to people those colonies; which, weighing every circumstance, may justly be said to be rather burthensome than serviceable to her.

How

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How different has been the conduct of the English! They founded in barren countries and inclement climes, amidst all the difficulties arising from war, famine, and disease, a lasting and a flourishing empire. They forsook the fertile lands, the seat of their fore-fathers, to seek new habitations amongst an unknown and a savage race. They cleared vast forests; cultivated, with the sweat of their brow, an untilled, and often a thankless soil. In the midst of woods and deserts, they erected towns, and formed well-regulated societies; in the haunts of wild nations, they established good government and order. Their habitations were as cities of refuge to their countrymen, when labouring under any discontent at home: mean while, a more substantial benefit accrued from their commerce with Great-Britain, than from all the Spanish mines of treasure in the wealthy regions of South-America.

Never did fortitude and magnanimity, never did wisdom and sound policy shine more conspicuous, than in the first settlers in North-America; though, like all other histories, that of the colonies is sometimes stained with blood. There were times, when those who fled from persecution themselves became persecutors,

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persecutors; forgetful of that liberty for which they had so lately contended, some among them sought to deprive their fellow-colonists of the undoubted right of all men, to think freely in regard to matters of religion. Hence arose troubles and jealousies, heart-burnings and animosities; but these were not to last for ever: reason appeased them, and shewed, in a just light, the absurdity of such proceedings. Since that period, they have agreed better among themselves, and have proved useful to their fellow-subjects in Britain, till the late unhappy contest arose, which hereafter both parties may have but too much cause to repent. — But it is not my design here to enter into the dispute, which will be more amply considered in the course of the following sheets.

I shall only observe, that the worst of consequences must necessarily arise from such contentions, to the joy of our common enemies, and to the grief of every true patriot, whether in England or in North-America; and that, as things have fallen out, it is well our intriguing neighbours the French, have at present so little footing in the western world. They who have ever delighted



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lighted in fomenting discord, and who ever looked on our successes in those parts with a jealous eye, would doubtless have shewed themselves forward enough on this occasion, to have taken advantage of the disputes between Great-Britain and her colonies; and, in such a case, it is impossible to tell where the evil might have ended.

I shall conclude this introductory discourse, with remarking, that, as it is likely many of these differences have arisen rather from mistake than from design, so nothing is more rational to suppose, than that a thorough knowledge of each other's interests, may contribute to the reconciliation of both parties, and be the means of once more uniting them in bonds of union, and procuring for them a lasting and undisturbed repose; which is the sincere wish of every true patriot and disinterested Briton.

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE
IN
A M E R I C A

OF all the improvements and useful arts which the wit of mortals has invented, that of navigation, is justly held in the highest esteem, as it makes commerce flourish, promotes and extends the benefits of society, and connects us with those distant countries, which must otherwise have been separated from us for ever. — But now vast oceans are no longer considered as obstacles; the prevailing industry of men has rendered the boisterous elements subservient to their purpose; winds and seas have been obedient to them; and since the compass has been in use, scarcely any thing has been deemed impossible to bold and persevering adventurers.

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It was not till the fifteenth century that this excellent invention was adopted; and the utility of it soon after sufficiently appeared, in the discovery of distant lands lying in another hemisphere, with abundance of other advantages, which will be enjoyed by latest posterity. Till this period, people were accustomed to direct their course by the stars, and to make tedious coasting voyages, seldom trusting themselves in the main sea, unless compelled by contrary winds, or unforeseen accidents. It is scarcely conceivable with what pains the Phœnicians and other nations of antiquity made their voyages and discoveries, traded, and sent colonies abroad. Perseverance alone enabled them to overcome difficulties which at first seemed unsurmountable. The histories of those times mixed fables with facts; and some later writers would even persuade us that the continent, which we call America, was known to the ancients, before the people of Europe, Asia, or Africa, could possibly be supposed to imagine that there was such a track of land existing in the world.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans who made any very valuable discoveries. They touched at the Azores; they passed the Equator, and afterwards sailed along the western coast of Africa, till they doubled its southmost cape, to which they gave the name of Bona Esperanza, and landed in 1493, at Calicut in the East-Indies, under their famous admiral Vasco de Gama. The success of this expedition gave birth to many others, and first
in-

inspired the famous Christopher Columbus *, with the notion of undertaking an expedition, which ended in the discovery of the vast continent of America.

He conceived the design of sailing to the Indies by steering westward, founding his hopes of success, chiefly on the spherical figure of the earth. In this he was deceived ; but his error produced a most valuable consequence. After having in vain applied to king John of Portugal, and other princes, as his brother had done to Henry VII. of Eng-

* This great man was descended from an ancient family in the territories of the republic of Genoa. He had an early inclination to the sea, studied navigation in his youth, and married and settled in Portugal, from whence he traded to the coast of Guinea. He is said to have been greatly encouraged to undertake his expedition to the westward, by the reports of several mariners, whom contrary winds had carried beyond the supposed boundaries of the known world, and who declared they had seen several evident tokens of land at the distance of some hundred leagues from the western islands. Some papers also, left him by one Alonso Sanchez, who died in his house in the Terceiras, which contained an account of a newly-discovered country, is supposed to have confirmed these reports. However that be, it is certain, that about the year 1484, he offered to the Genoese the plan for his intended expedition, with a view, as we have taken notice above, to sail westward to the Indies. The State of Genoa, either through the want of inclination or ability, rejected his proposal, as did also the court of Portugal, with whom it is said he was invited to treat a second time about the matter, but declined it. — He next sent his brother Bartholo-

land, he at length laid his plan open to Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain. It was eight years before he could prevail on the court to assist him in his undertaking. At the end of this term he set sail with three ships from Palos, a port of Andalusia, but not before he had obtained a patent and appointment of admiral, in such parts as he should discover, and viceroy of countries, which most of the world supposed at that time to exist merely in his own imagination.

new, in 1485, to lay his scheme before king Henry VII. of England. This gentleman had the misfortune to fall into the hands of pirates, and arriving, oppressed with poverty and disease, it was near three years before he was in a condition to make his proposals to that prince, which however could not be brought to bear till his brother had engaged in the service of their catholic majesties : for in the year 1486, Christopher Columbus applied to Ferdinand and Isabella, from whom it was a long time before he met with the encouragement he deserved. Numberless were the taunts he sustained on account of his poverty, and the vain schemes, as the courtiers called them, which he was so busy in projecting. At last, however, the queen became his patroness ; yet many difficulties were started ; one of which was, the expence of the undertaking, though this adventurer offered to defray an eighth part of it himself. These obstacles at last giving way to his magnanimity and perseverance, he set sail, on the third day of August, from Palos with three ships ; his own which was a decked vessel and which he named the Santa Maria ; a second called the Pinta, commanded by Martin Alonso Pinzon, and a third named the Nina, of which Visconti Yannez Pinzon was the captain, the two last of which were without decks. With the first foul wind, which happened on the 22d of Septem-

After

After an absence of nine months, in which short time he went through much vexation, and had more than once been in danger of being compelled to renounce his enterprize, he returned to his native country, bringing with him some inhabitants of the American islands, which he had discovered, and to which he had given the name of the West-Indies, owing to the false notion he had conceived that they were Asiatic isles, a notion which nothing but the actual discovery of the main land could convince him was erroneous. He was received with the greatest marks of respect by

ber, the crew began to murmur, and soon after obliged him to promise to return again, if he did not discover land within three days: on the very first of these they made St Salvador, (as it was afterwards called) one of the Lucayas. They found there a very innocent and simple people, who told them, that the gold they wore about them, came from a rich kingdom in the South. Of this place they took formal possession, in the name of their catholic majesties, and, departing, discovered several other islands. About this time, Martin Alonso Pinzon, imagining, from the discourse of some of the natives, that there was much gold in Bohio, or Hispaniola, separated himself from the other ships to go in quest of it; whither the admiral soon after followed him, and was well received by the natives, who made him presents of gold and other valuable things, and permitted him to build a fort on the island, where he left a colony of Spaniards. Here he lost his own ship, by the carelessness of the man he had placed at the helm; the inhabitants however were very assiduous in helping him to preserve his men and the cargo that was on board; yet this was a great loss to him, as he had but one vessel now remaining. But while he was lamenting this misfortune, and examin-
the

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the king and queen, who honoured him as a grandee of Spain, and permitted him to be covered in their presence; and those who had before treated his designs with the utmost contempt were now the first to extol them. The people were loud in their acclamations, and considered him as the guardian genius of their land.

All eyes were turned upon him with admiration. A second expedition was soon proposed, and took place. He met no longer with those difficulties which had attended his first preparation. He set sail again for the same parts, much better furnished than before. In the course of this voyage, he discovered Jamaica and the Caribbee Islands. But

ing the coast, he unexpectedly fell in with Martin Alonso's caravel, the *Pinta*. That commander had bartered for much gold with the natives, half of which he had distributed amongst the seamen, and the other half he took for his own use. He made many frivolous excuses for a conduct which was really unjustifiable; and Columbus considering his present situation, thought fit to accept them. Having quitted Hispaniola, he set sail for Spain with two vessels only. In his way he again lost the caravel *Pinta*, in a storm which threatened the Spaniards with destruction. At this time, the admiral thinking himself in danger, wrote some account of his discoveries on a skin of parchment; this he wrapped in a piece of crepe-cloth, put it into a barrel, and threw it into the sea, in order that whatever might become of himself, the fruits of this expedition might not be entirely lost. The wind presently after abating, the sailors deemed this some act of piety and devotion. Landing at the Azores, the Portuguese behaved very haughtily to him and his men, and he met with much trouble and vexation on this and other accounts. In

as there wanted not those who envied the successes of Columbus, he was maltreated by the spies of government that were embarked on board his own fleet, and after having experienced many mortifying circumstances, was at length brought home in irons. It was chiefly to Fonseca, bishop of Burgos, that he owed this disgrace; but the queen, moved by the universal voice of the people declaring in his favour, and blushing at her own ingratitude, released him; yet so much did jealousy prevail at the court of Spain, that it was four years before they suffered him again to depart. This third expedition produced something yet more extraordinary than the two former. It was now that he discovered the

his way he put into the port of Lisbon, where he was better treated, and from whence he sailed for Spain, and arrived at Palos, after an absence of nine months. Their catholic majesties were then at Barcelona. When he came before them, he was received with the greatest respect; and the king and queen returned thanks to God, in the most solemn manner, for the successes of their admiral.

He set out on his next expedition with more favourable circumstances. He was assisted with those things which were necessary for the undertaking; bulls were obtained from the pope, confirming the countries already discovered, and those which might hereafter be discovered, in the New World, to the Spanish monarch. On the 25th of September, 1493, he sailed, with seventeen ships and fifteen hundred men, from the bay of Cadiz, and arrived at the Canaries, on the 2d of October. Having taken in wood, cattle, and swine, at Gomera, on the 7th he continued his voyage to the westward, having previously given instructions to the commanders of each ship, which they were the

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continent of America, at six degrees distance from the equator. Hearing that there was a sea on the other side, he apprehended his error, in supposing that the isles he had touched at belonged to Asia, and generously owned the mistake: however, he asserted the probability that there was a communication between the two oceans, a proof that he still kept in view his chief design, which was that of sailing round the globe, afterwards so successfully attempted; and which it is not improbable, if we may be indulged, conjectures may be rendered still more easy in a future age, since the situation of the peninsula, which divides the western from the southern ocean, (and which is but a very narrow one)

ordered not to open, unless they were separated from him. In his way, he took possession of Marigallante, Guadalupe, and other islands; from whence he proceeded to Hispaniola, where he found the Spanish colony destroyed, the houses burned, and all things in confusion. The Cazique with whom he had made an alliance on his former voyage, informed him that the Christians had quarrelled among themselves about gold and women; that they had killed one of their companions, and that some of them had put themselves under the protection of another chief, who had treacherously murdered them. To prove the truth of his assertions, the Indian produced some wounds he had received in fighting to defend his Spanish allies, and which, it was plain, were inflicted with savage weapons. Leaving this place, Columbus put into Cuba and Jamaica, the former of which he coasted round, to discover whether it were an island or a continent. An Indian removed this doubt, and gave him a description of the place. He then held on his course through storms, thunder, and lightning, and was often in danger from rocks and

is not such as, in the nature of things, promises a long duration. — A conflux of these seas from beneath is now actually said to exist; and nothing is more likely than that this neck of land will one day be destroyed by earthquakes, inundations, or some of those dreadful accidents to which such situations are generally liable. — To wave this, the passage by Cape Horn, and that through the straits of Magellan were of themselves sufficient to prove Columbus was in the right in the principal point of his conjectures, and the circumnavigation of the globe was chiefly owing to the voyages of this great discoverer. After many toils and dangers sustained, he died in 1506, at Valladolid, after an illness of

shallows. In this voyage he met with his brother Bartholomew at the town of Isabella, who informed him of the difficulties he had met with in his English expedition. This gentleman came from thence in quest of him. At Paris he first heard of his discoveries and that he was declared admiral; on which he made all the haste he could to Spain; but Don Christopher was departed before his arrival. He then visited his two nephews, who were left at the court of Spain and kissed their Catholic majesties' hands, who did him great honour, and commissioned him to go with an aid of three ships in search of the admiral.

This was a joyful meeting; and Bartholomew was created lord lieutenant of the isles by his brother, a circumstance which did not prove very agreeable; as it was represented to the Spanish government, who afterwards thought fit to resent it. Soon after this appointment a war broke out with the Indians, in which the arms and horses of the Spaniards gave them the superiority over their savage enemies, being obliged to acknowledge the authority of their Catholic majesties, who were well pleased

to BRITISH EMPIRE

a few months, leaving behind him a fame so justly acquired as will live to all posterity.

These voyages of Columbus laid the first foundation for the conquest of Mexico and Peru, by Hernan Cortes and Francis Pizarro. The former of these sailed, in the year 1519, from the island of Cuba, on an expedition to the continent of America which had been already discovered and called by the name of New Spain. He had with him six hundred men, and a few pieces of cannon. A Spaniard, who had been for a long time prisoner in the country, served him for an interpreter, and an Indian lady whom he caused to be baptized by the name of Marina, was extremely service-

with the accounts of their admiral's success. Nevertheless there were not wanting those who spoke ill of him at the court of Spain, and at last prevailed so far that John Aguado, a native of Seville, was sent as a spy upon his actions, who wrought him much uneasiness, and, magnifying those unavoidable inconveniences which arose from the situation of the Spaniards in strange countries, where the inhabitants, now their foes, did every thing in their power to distress them, he wrote home dismal accounts of them: yet Columbus had so much influence, that, returning, he was fitted out for a third voyage, in which he discovered the continent of America, though one Americus Vesputius, a private adventurer, highly in favour with the bishop of Burgos, an enemy to Columbus, disputed with him the honour of that discovery, which has ever since been called after him, notwithstanding his pretensions were found to be groundless.

Christopher Columbus was, after all his great services taken and put in irons at the instigation, as it was supposed, of the
able

able to him. He penetrated after various adventures as far as Tlascala, which was a republic; and here it was that he first met with any material opposition. The Indians were defeated, and afterwards, entering into a treaty with him, helped him to subdue the Mexican empire, to whose grandeur they were enemies.

From thence he advanced (after some time spent in messages to the emperor Montezuma) towards his capital, and at last entered it without resistance. It was built upon a lake, and the various quarters were joined by bridges or causeways. It abounded in spacious squares and fine buildings, and notwithstanding what may have been said by

bishop D. John de Fonseca. But when he arrived, in November 1500, at Cadiz having written to the king and queen, they sent orders that he should be set at liberty; and to cover the disgraceful treatment he had undergone, received him graciously, telling him that they were much offended at his confinement, and would take care that those should be punished who were accessory to it. However he was far from being happy at the court of Spain, where so many viewed him with envious eyes. Worn with fatigue, and tortured with ingratitude, he fell sick at Valladolid, where he died, on the 20th of May, in the year 1506.

It is certain this great man was used in a most shameful manner. Before he had discovered the New World, all his schemes were treated as ridiculous and childish fancies;—after he had discovered it, it was pretended to have been known long before.—Being rallied one day by some courtiers on this subject in a very unseemly manner, he called for an egg, and asked if any

some writers to the contrary, was inhabited by an industrious, well-tempered, and, in general, a civilized people.

Montezuma received Cortes with an affected complaisance, and he and his men were lodged in the city. Some disputes however arising between the Indians and the Spaniards, some of the latter were slain on the road to Mexico, and the head of one of them sent to Montezuma, who approved, and had secretly given orders for the action, in which, however, his troops were routed, though with the loss of three or four of his enemies. The Mexicans had already found that these adventurers were not, as their first appearance had led them to believe, immortal, and Cortes began to be very uneasy when he was informed of what had passed.

of the company could set it upright on the smaller end?—When they answered, It was impossible, and that he could not do it himself, he gravely cracked the shell, and immediately performed it.—They then said, Any body might have done it. “I do not doubt it,” replied Columbus; “and yet none of you thought of it. And thus it was that I discovered the Indies. I first conceived the design of steering that course, and now every miserable pilot can find his way thither as well as I. There are many things that appear easy when once performed, which before were thought impracticable. You ought to reflect on the scoffs I sustained on the score of my design, before I put it in execution.”—This smart reply was extremely commended by the king who affected greatly to admire the man whom he had so inadequately contributed to support.

He

He now seized the emperor in his own palace, caused him to be bound, and, by alternate threats and intreaties, even to consent to become his prisoner. He obliged him afterwards to give up those who had attacked his people, and to acknowledge that he held his empire of Charles V. A tribute also was annexed to this homage; and by this step the Spanish general secured himself in the very midst of enemies. The possession of the emperor's person was his surest safe-guard, and his countenance was of use to him on many occasions. — This proceeding, however unjustifiable, was certainly a very prudent one, and contributed the most of any thing he had achieved to the conquest of all Mexico. — In the mean time Velasquez, the governor of Cuba, sent Pamphilo de Narvaëz against Cortes, whose success he envied, with almost twice as many men as had first landed in Mexico. But these, that able general, taking the advantage of the night and stormy weather, attacked and routed, making the commander prisoner, and bringing over the remains of his band to his own party. He incorporated them with his own men, and marched back to Mexico, where he found the eighty Spaniards he had left to guard Montezuma, besieged in their quarters by the whole force of the city, in revenge for some cruelties the former had committed on the inhabitants. The approach of Cortes, at this critical juncture with such a reinforcement, altered the face of affairs, and enabled the Spaniards to act upon the offensive.

offensive. Several engagements ensued, in all of which the Mexicans were worsted. At length, Montezuma was killed with a stone, thrown by one of his own subjects, while he was haranguing, and endeavouring to appease, the justly enraged multitude.

To this monarch succeeded Guatimozin, a prince elected by the people, who did all that it was in the power of a brave chief so unhappily situated to do, for the expulsion of the invaders. Desperate battles were fought, and the Spaniards were more than once on the verge of destruction. They were at last obliged to quit the city, and retreat towards Tlascala, in which attempt they succeeded, but not without loss. After they had got clear of the causeways, they engaged, on the other side the mountains, the whole force of the empire, defeated them, and took their royal standard. Then they returned with fresh forces from Tlascala, where the brave general of the republic Xicoteneal, was put to death for a patriotic design which he had formed of not fighting for the enemies of his country.

The Mexicans now fought upon the lake, but nine Spanish boats, with three hundred soldiers on board, defeated five thousand of theirs, which contained ten thousand men, and Cortes attacking them at the same time from the causeways, once more won his way into the city.—After many obstinate disputes, the Spaniards proved at last the victors,

sons, and Guatimozin was taken, as he was endeavouring, by the way of the lake, to escape from the city. This unhappy prince was afterwards burned alive, by order of the king of Spain's treasurer, being accused of the extraordinary crime of concealing his own gold from the invaders. He bore his tortures with becoming fortitude, and died, as he had lived, like a great prince and a brave man.

Thus was the whole empire of Mexico subdued by six hundred Spaniards, a circumstance sufficient to raise the admiration of the world. But eight years after Cortes's expedition, Francis Pizarro and Diego d'Almagro, undertook one of the same nature, by way of the South-Seas, and subverted the empire of Peru, as their fore-runner had done that of Mexico. This kingdom, for a number of years, had been governed by a race of absolute princes, called Yncas, who were at first the reformers, afterwards sovereigns of the people. The ancient Peruvians, (according to the traditions related by their posterity) lived in woods and caves, were savage and barbarous, used promiscuous copulation, devoured human flesh, and differed in nothing but their form from the brutes. At length a great legislator arose among them, who called himself the descendant of the sun, to whom he first erected temples, and paid divine honours. He drew his countrymen from their wild abodes, established cities, and societies, persuaded

persuaded some, and afterwards by their help compelled others, to become more civilized and humane. A long line of his successors reigned after him. The twelfth Ynca was named Huayna Capac, the father of Athabalipa. These princes, of legislators had become conquerors, and the last Ynca had subdued Quito. In this city, his second son, Athabalipa, who had taken his brother the Ynca, prisoner, was found at the head of near forty thousand of his own soldiers, armed with darts and long pikes of gold and silver. — Pizarro sent by his interpreters to treat with Athabalipa, but received no very friendly answer from the king, who thought with justice that he had little reason to be pleased with his new guests. However, he gave them a meeting, after several embassies and messages had passed; and, what dreadful notions soever he might entertain of these invaders, he seemed to come well provided against the worst, as he was attended by so great an army.

The Spanish general, having disposed every thing for his reception, sent father Vincent de Valverde, to harangue him upon the benefits of the christian religion, which was awkwardly done by the priest, and still more awkwardly interpreted by an Indian whom the Spaniards called Philip, who was equally base and ignorant. Athabalipa being as much in the dark as ever, consequently shewed but little respect to doctrines he did not understand, and
which,

which, if they had been never so well explained, were certainly too prematurely delivered. To increase this misunderstanding, a tumult arising on account of the christians offering to seize an idol adorned with gold and precious stones. The disturbance alarming the father, he made haste to inquire into the cause of it; and interposing among the Indians and Spaniards, the cross and breviary between them were thrown to the ground. The Spaniards immediately crying out, that these holy things were profaned, fell upon the Indians and routed them, without the loss of a man. Pizarro, with his own hand, pulled the Ynca from his litter, and made him prisoner, in doing which he received a slight wound from one of his own people, who was equally eager to seize him; and this was all the christian blood shed upon the occasion, while the poor harmless Peruvians were slain like sheep, till the conquerors were tired with pursuing and killing them. Some say, their prince had ordered them not to fight; it is more probable, the dread and astonishment which the horses, the armour, and above all the fire-arms, had inspired, deprived them of all thoughts of defence. However that be, it was a bloody massacre, and reflects eternal disgrace on the perpetrators of it. Athabalipa being made prisoner, was treated with a kind of mock respect: even after this misfortune, it is said, he sent orders to put his brother (the lawful heir to the empire) to death, which was the worst action of

his life. In other respects he deserved not the fate which attended him; for in the end, failing in his promise of giving a most enormous ransom for his liberty, he was on various pretences condemned to be burned, but obtained the favour to be strangled first, on consenting to be baptized, and owning himself a christian.

After the death of Athabalipa, many disputes arose about the succession, which, in the end, fell upon Manco Capac. This Ynca was ill-treated and imprisoned by the Spaniards, from whom he found means to escape, and gave them much trouble. A circumstance at that time happened, which, if duly attended to, might have given this prince a chance of expelling the invaders. This was no other, than a difference between Pizarro and his lieutenant Almagro, which produced open hostilities. A decisive battle, fought under the walls of Cusco, gave the victory to Pizarro, and Almagro was executed. The Ynca had disbanded his army, in the very infancy of these troubles; so that the Peruvians lost that opportunity of struggling once more for their freedom, the loss of which they have since most severely felt. Pizarro was afterwards assassinated in his palace by some of the partizans of his deceased enemy. And thus ended the lives of the conquerors of Peru.

The greatest part of Chili was reduced, and the Spanish laws established through all this quarter of the new world. The cruelty of the victors, and the oppressions,

IN AMERICA,

19

pressions of the vanquished, are too well known to be here expatiated on : if the former had acted upon principles of humanity and true policy, they might have saved whole deluges of blood, and rendered these acquisitions infinitely more useful to their possessors.

It is remarkable, that the race of men inhabiting the continent of America, seemed to differ both in minds and persons from their invaders, whose looks as well as their arms, struck a terror into their hearts. At first they believed them to be gods, on account of their superior genius, skill, and courage ; — one would have imagined, that after experiencing their unexampled cruelties, they had only changed one error for another, and supposed them to be destroying dæmons, commissioned to confound mankind. Arts were indeed cultivated in Mexico and Peru, and even war itself was reduced to some kind of rule ; yet how did the weakness of these people expose itself, in suffering as they did, the destruction of their country ! Nay, the Peruvians, dividing themselves into two parties, fought against each other, lifting under the banners of Pizarro and Almagro, their conquerors. How far all this might arise from a defect of nature, or how far from the strength of prejudice, and the dread first impressed upon their spirits, may be worth the serious consideration of a philosopher. One would be led to imagine nature to be alike indulgent to all the sons of Adam ; yet in some there is at least an apparent constitutional inferiority.

This reflexion naturally leads to the consideration of what stock the inhabitants of the new world sprung from, and how America was first peopled, a question which cannot easily be decided, if that continent is separated on all sides by oceans from the rest of the globe. The discovery of a north-west passage, would be likely to throw some light upon this; and it has at several times been unsuccessfully attempted, perhaps owing to the inclemency of the weather in those latitudes where it was sought for. The Russians have generally surmised that America is joined to the main land on the north-east, or at least separated from it by a very narrow strait. However, according to the nicest examination of the matter, it appears that there is a vast distance between the north-east boundary of the Tartars and California, to which they suppose it to join. That there is a passage by the north-west to the sea on the other side the globe, still seems highly probable; though whether it will prove such an one as may be navigated without great difficulty and danger, is a question more indeterminate.

If there be a connexion on any quarter with our world, then will it no longer be a problem how the western continent was peopled; but if there be no such junction, it will remain a debate. — And should we say with a celebrated writer *, that men were

* M. de Voltaire.

placed in America by the same power, who caused trees and plants to spring up there, it is likely the answer would not prove a very satisfactory one.— In the first place, the only historian *, who has given us any rational account of the creation, tells us, that we all sprang from one man and one woman, who drew their first breath in the east. How then did their descendants migrate to America in early times, before the use of the compass was known? But if we should pass over this difficulty, and suppose with some †, that this track of land was joined for some ages to the continent of Asia, still another obstacle remains. We are informed both by sacred and profane writers, that about two thousand years after the Mosaic account of the creation, happened a mighty flood, which overthrew all the dwellings of men, and separated these lands, if ever they were joined. If they never

* Moses.

† Burnet, in his Theory of the Earth, has laboured much to prove, that at the creation, the sea was shut up in the bowels of the earth, which was in all parts one smooth, continued surface, without mountains or valleys; and, consequently, all the countries on the face of the earth were connected together in one continued line, till the deluge, when by a violent concussion, *the fountains of the great deep were broken up*, the whole earth overflowed, vast continents rent asunder, islands formed, and various parts of the globe for ever separated from each other. This hypothesis is far from being received as a true one; but if it were, it would be insufficient to account for the peopling of America, as is shewn above.

were,

were, then the Americans, supposing them to have existed from the creation, and even granting that the deluge extended not to their world, (which perhaps is more than ought to be granted) could never have been the sons and daughters of Adam.

But if we descend from this height of speculation, and attribute the matter to more common circumstances, we may reason in this manner; America was at first seen by accident, why might it not be peopled by accident likewise? — If one man and one woman were sufficient to stock all Europe, Asia, and Africa, why may we not allow, that a few persons driven by contrary winds to the fourth quarter of the world, might produce the same effect there? — If it be asked, how the descendants of these could forget their origin? any one who understands human nature, may well return an answer. When men are obliged to shift for their subsistence in woods and wilds, when they have no opportunities of conversation and improvement, and all their wits are employed in defending themselves from the inclemencies of the weather, and providing the necessaries of life, it is easy to suppose they will, in time, forget the use of those faculties they cease to exert, and thus the succeeding generations may not remember from what stock they came. The ancestors of the Mexicans, we are told, were wild and savage; the Peruvians, according to their own traditions, lived

lived in rocks and caves, till drawn from thence, and civilized by the Yncas. And all this might have been the case, supposing these people to have been driven thither from any strange country. Forgetful of their origin, men like beasts may degenerate, till some exalted genius awakes their sleeping faculties, calls them from their savage haunts, and once more fits them for society.—There is nothing but what is natural in all this; yet one question will still arise.—There are beasts in America, of whose existence no traces can be found in Europe.—The inhabitants of Peru and Mexico had never seen horses. On the contrary, the new world produces certain creatures which are strange to us. But is it impossible that there are such in our own world, in parts unknown, or that they may have existed, at some former period of time, in Asia, Africa, or even in Europe itself? It is a general received notion, that no species is entirely extinct since the creation: yet it is certain, that wolves which formerly were so plentiful in England and Wales, are no where to be found in the British dominions. A species then may perish, it is evident, from an island; why not from a continent? If from one continent, why not from another?—If we may believe a celebrated author to be in earnest, in what he says of the interior parts of Africa, we shall find by the account which he gives, that a whole race of men are in danger of sharing the

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the same fate *, which is still more extraordinary. But it is urged, that the men as well as beasts, found in the western world, are, in many respects, different from those under our own hemisphere. — Are not the East Indians and the Europeans, the Persians and the Caffrè Negroes as different? Do not the Hottentots appear in some respects as another species of men? Yet it is highly probable, all these descended from one common parent. The same then may be the case with the Americans, whose differing soil and climate, and other outward accidents might occasion the variation observed.

All these, indeed, are but conjectures; yet in cases of this kind, probability in an hypothesis is all that can reasonably be expected. However this vast continent was peopled, it is certain that the natives of it, inhabiting Mexico and Peru, had formed themselves into civil societies, cultivated the arts and were far from being unhappy. One thing

* M. de Voltaire says, “ In the interior parts of Africa
“ there is a race, though very few in number, of little men,
“ who are as white as snow, with faces like those of the ne-
“ groes, and round eyes, exactly resembling those of a par-
“ tridge.” Expatiating more fully on the matter, in another
place, he says, that the neighbouring nations are continually de-
stroying them, and their race is likely to be extinct. — A white
negroe female answering this description, has been often shewn
in England: whether she be of this race remains yet to be de-
termined.

however,

however is to be observed, which is that according to the best accounts, all these improvements were not yet arrived at their maturity: — Huayná Capac, the father of Athabalipa, was but the twelfth Ynca of Peru, since the first legislators, who drew these people from a state of barbarism; a circumstance favourable to the opinions here delivered, since if the peopling of those parts bore a date co-æval with the creation, it is likely they would have been much sooner civilized. The North-Americans still continue wild, and are perhaps of a still later origin, otherwise the case it is presumed would have been directly the reverse; nor is it quite impossible that these people may owe their origin to the Tartars whose savage manners at least seem so natural to them.

The discovery of America and sending colonies thither occasioned many alterations in the system of politics throughout Europe. The pope had granted bulls dividing the territories settled by the Portuguese from those discovered by the Spaniards by lines drawn to the East and West; but these were perpetually broken through, and by the voyages afterwards made to the South Seas, rendered useless and ridiculous. The circum-navigators, among whom Sir Francis Drake stands first in fame, at last completed the design of Columbus, and brought the Europeans acquainted with the situation of other nations and their own. Gold and

silver became plentiful, trade flourished, and all things assumed a different face from what they had done a century before. The indefatigable labours and laudable spirit of a few found employment for numbers, ministered to the ease and happiness, and, in process of time, to the luxury and extravagance of nations.

The continent of America, lies between 35 and 45 degrees of West longitude, and between 80 degrees of North, and 58 of South latitude. It is bounded on the side of Europe by the great Western Sea, and on the opposite side by the Pacific Ocean. Its soil and climate are various, according to the different situations of its provinces, some of which exhibit the most enchanting scenes of beauty and fertility, while others are barren and desert; but these latter are much more rare to be found than the former; and this spot, taking it altogether, may be considered as a very agreeable country, well furnished with the necessaries, and even the luxuries of life.

Having already given a summary of the discoveries of Columbus, and the conquest of Mexico and Peru by the Spaniards, which I considered as a proper introduction to this work, as their history is sometimes connected with that of our own colonies. I shall now proceed in the prosecution of my main design, which is to present the reader with an account of the British Empire in North America.

Our

Our colonies in these parts peopled by men discontented, and driven from their native homes by religious persecutions, desperate fortunes, or by a passion for novelty and extraordinary undertakings, will afford a great field for reflexion and improvement. If we consider at what expence of time, wealth, and labour, these infant colonies were formed, how greatly they have increased, and of what use they have proved to the mother-country, which at first rejected their ancestors, we must certainly be struck with wonder and amazement. The patience and industry of the first settlers; their perseverance under difficulties and distresses, and the noble spirit they exerted in establishing themselves in these remote parts, most certainly deserve the greatest commendations; and a lasting memorial in history, which will undoubtedly transmit their names with honour to latest posterity.

It was to the enterprising genius of a Raleigh that we owed the first peopling of our colonies in North America. At the same time, it is to be observed, that, whatever might be the extensive comprehension of that great man, in regard to commercial interests, most of those who undertook to settle in these parts were inspired with the hopes of gaining vast fortunes by gold and silver, and other mineral productions, nor foresaw those greater and more certain advantages, which proved, in the end, the reward of their unconquered spirit, and unremitted labour.

North America, properly so called, was first discovered by Sebastian Cabot, for the English, in the reign of Henry VII. but remained for near a century unclaimed and uncultivated. It was not until the year 1584, that the renowned Raleigh first fitted out certain ships, under the command of the captains Amidas and Barlow, who went on shore on an island near the continent of America. And some time afterwards possession was taken of part of the continent, under the name of Virginia; a title bestowed on it in honour of the maiden queen, Elizabeth, who at that time swayed the sceptre. Roanoke was the name of the island on which they landed. It was situated near the mouth of the river Albemarle, in North Carolina. They carried on a trade with the inhabitants, and returned, bringing with them two of the natives; but made no attempts towards settling a colony. However, in April the next year, Sir Richard Grenville was encouraged to attempt a second expedition with seven ships, under the auspices of him who had planned out the first. He arrived at the island of Wokokon, with the loss of one of his vessels. From hence he went to the continent; but plundering an Indian town was obliged to quit the shore with precipitation, and direct his course towards Cape Hatteras. There he passed over to Roanoke, where he placed a colony of an hundred men, and from thence returned to England. Captain Lane, whom he left at the head of the settlement,

element, proceeded to make his discoveries on the continent of America : but the Indians, after some fruitless opposition, retired, burning their corn-fields, and desolating their country : they grew jealous of the English, who, as they advanced, had every thing to fear from the savage inhabitants. Lane however proceeded, and being persuaded by Wininga, an Indian prince, that he might meet with great treasures near the source of the river Morotock, sailed up that river in boats, but failing in point of provisions, and not being supplied by the Indians, who disappeared as fast as he advanced, he returned, with his half-famished crew, in great distress to the island. Meanwhile, his false friend Wininga amused him with vain hopes, at the same time that he was in reality employed in concluding treaties with the other Indian nations, for the total extirpation of the English. His design was indeed discovered, and his person secured ; yet the little colony was in danger of destruction, when happily Sir Francis Drake arrived on the coast. Wearied and harrassed as they were, they had no longer any inclinations to settle on the inhospitable shore, but went on board the fleet and gladly set sail for England.

They had not long been gone, when Sir Richard Grenville arrived there with three ships. Though he found no traces of his countrymen, yet he had the boldness to leave fifteen men, victualled for two years, upon the island.

In

In 1587, Raleigh equipped three other ships, on board which were an hundred and fifty adventurers. These he incorporated, by the name of the Borough of Raleigh in Virginia. One captain White was constituted governor, in whom, together with a council of twelve persons, the legislative power was vested. These, after a difficult passage, arriving at Roanoke, found no other marks of the colony left there by Sir Richard Grenville, than the skeleton of a man who had been murdered by the Indians, and a house which had been built by the first settlers. Anxious to know the fate of their countrymen, and in some measure doubtful what might prove their own, they made all manner of inquiries after these unhappy persons; and some time after, they were informed seven of them had been killed by the savages, and the rest who escaped had gone over to another island near Cape Hatteras, and were never heard of afterwards. The colony of which we are now speaking, entering into hostilities with the neighbouring Indians, found it necessary to send their governor to England, to solicit supplies, which he had much trouble in obtaining. He set sail with a reinforcement, on his return, but being attacked by a great storm, he put back again to England. The settlers were left to themselves, and perished to a man, by famine, or the sword of the enemy. Thus, for want of a proper attention, these unhappy persons lost their ves; and their countrymen, for the present,

sent, all their hopes of establishing colonies on the North East continent of America.

In 1602, however, the captains Gilbert and Gesnold sailed from Plymouth, to that part of Virginia called New England, and built a fort on a little island, which they named Elizabeth; but, quarrelling with the Indians, it proved only a trading voyage, the profits of which defrayed the expence of the undertaking. Another enterprize, of like nature, was set on foot by Mr. Hacluit, prebendary of Bristol, which met with the like success. In 1605, the lords Southampton and Arundel sent a ship to Hudson's River, under captain Weymouth; but his men kidnapping some of the Americans, the intent of the voyage, to plant colonies, was frustrated.

Thus much of time and labour was thrown away in fruitless undertakings; but in the year 1606, a company of gentlemen and merchants obtained a patent to raise a fund for attempting new settlements in Virginia. — As to Raleigh's grant, before obtained, it was forfeited when he was attainted, and necessarily reverted to the crown. Every one who has read the English history must be acquainted with the character of that great man, his enterprising spirit, and the barbarous treatment he received from King James I. — The spirit of trade and colonization however, which was stirred up in the people, notwithstanding their repeated disappointments, still subsisted, and the body of men
above.

above-mentioned were incorporated under the names of the London and Bristol Companies. At the head of the latter were Sir J. Popham, chief justice, and Ferdinand Gorges, governor of Plymouth; Sir Thomas Yates, and Sir George Summers were likewise acting men in this undertaking. About an hundred adventurers set out in three vessels, under the command of captain Newport, furnished with every accommodation that could be thought necessary for their purpose. They came to an anchor in the bay of Chesapeake, at the latter end of April, in bad weather, and fell in with a party of Indians, whom they had the good fortune to defeat; and the next day, entering the town, received their submissions.

On their departure from England, the colonists had received sealed instructions relating to their internal government. The time was now come in which they were to be opened. This was done in full assembly; and some causes of displeasure to particular persons were occasioned by the contents of them, and the result of the subsequent election; this was in some measure no more than what might be expected. In all cases of this nature, some will be offended, because all cannot be alike preferred. I shall not however stop to expatiate on these grievances, but proceed to the more interesting parts of the history*.

* The names of the council were, Bartholomew Gesnold, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Smith, John Ratcliff, John Martin, and George Kendall. Mr. Wingfield
The

The emigrants now began to treat with the neighbouring Indians, and obtained leave to build a fort, and erect houses on a spot near the river Powhatoc;—this little establishment they called James-Town, and gave the river the English name of James-River likewise; but, notwithstanding all these negociations, they soon found themselves subjected to the attacks of the savage inhabitants; and, in consequence, were obliged to amend their fortifications, and to put themselves more upon their guard.

After having proceeded in the necessary branches of agriculture, the fleet was dispatched back again to England, one hundred and four men being left in James-Town. These had not remained there long before they found themselves reduced to great necessity, and alike pursued by disease and by the sword. Several people of consequence perished, and the colony was in the utmost distress, when they thought fit to chuse their rejected member, Smith, for their president; who accepted the office, and endeavoured to retrieve their almost ruined fortunes. He engaged the Indians with various success*; and, by fre-

was chosen president, and Smith left out of the council; though he was afterwards called to assume the reins of that government, which had set him aside in contradiction to the instructions they had received from England.

* In one of these engagements he was taken prisoner by the natives, and being condemned to die, was preserved by the gene-

quently defeating them, kept up the sinking colony. But the villany of some, and the carelessness of others, together with many accidental causes all working together, contributed again to sink the colony to the lowest ebb. At last a patent was obtained for the appointment of a governor, with greater privileges, and more authority than before. Lord Delawar was pitched upon for this purpose; who constituted Sir George Summers, Sir Thomas Yates, and captain Newport, his deputies. They set sail with nine ships: eight of these, with near five hundred persons, got safe to Virginia; but the ninth, on board of which were the deputy-governors, was shipwrecked on the islands of Bermudas; meanwhile those who arrived were rendered unable, by party-divisions, to do any service to their countrymen or themselves. Discord reared her baleful head, and still continued to threaten their absolute destruction: disorder, and the destroying sword were rife amongst them: in a word, they experienced every evil that could enter into the heart of man to conceive, when first the deputy-governors, and afterwards the Lord Delawar himself arrived to their assistance. The former of

rosity of an Indian woman, who not only obtained of the chief, her father, the grant of his life and liberty, but also held a correspondence with him; in the course of which she informed him of all her countrymens plots against the English; so that he was ever prepared for, and ready to defeat them. This circumstance may appear romantic, but it is well enough attested.

these

these gentlemen had made shift to construct two vessels out of the timber found on the islands, that had conveyed them in safety to this scene of confusion, which however they were so little able to reduce to order, that the whole colony had actually deserted their town, and were ready to sail for England, when the latter arrived, who by his prudence and justice, and a due exertion of his extraordinary abilities, prevented their desertion, obliged them to return to the settlement they had forsaken, and made such wise regulations as again restored the colony to a more comfortable and happy state.

Thus by the conduct of one sensible and spirited man was James-Town again rendered an habitation fit for Englishmen, and a settlement revived, which if it had then untimely expired, would probably have thrown so great a damp upon the ardour of the English adventurers as might in future have prevented all those advantages which Great Britain has since reaped from colonization. This governor made many appointments, set about a reformation of manners, banished, in a great measure, all party discontents, and held the sword of justice with such a steady hand as failed not to render him at once beloved by his friends and dreaded by his enemies. He dispatched Sir Thomas Yates over to England with the most flattering account of the state of the colony. Soon after he himself returned likewise for the recovery of his health, to

his native country. Still however the affairs of his government were his great care, and these he represented in such a light as engaged the new company to send supplies of men and money to Virginia. First captain Dale with three ships, and afterwards Sir Thomas Yates arrived there with nine more, in quality of Lord Delawar's deputy. At this time an English captain marrying the daughter of an Indian chief, secured the friendship of one who was before a foe, and greatly benefited the affairs of his countrymen in those parts.

In the year 1618, Lord Delawar reembarked for Virginia, but ended his days on the passage. Mr. Argol was now entrusted with the administration of affairs; but as he was thought to attend more to the discovery of new countries than to the good government of his province, he was recalled, and Sir George Yardley succeeded him in the government. The cultivation of tobacco was greatly owing to this gentleman, who besides altered the form of the constitution, so as to resemble as nearly as possible that of Great Britain. The council was modelled by the House of Lords, the general assembly by that of the Commons, and in 1620, these estates of the province met at James-Town for the dispatch of business.

This might properly be called the rise of our first settlements in North America; the success of which gave birth to many others; and in process of time the new world, became the asylum of all
who

who were male-content, either in regard of religion, or politics, of all who were made uneasy by their private circumstances at home, or who by a disposition for roving, chose to seek their fortunes abroad; before such adventurers all toils and dangers seemed to vanish, or even when they really felt them they were generally ashamed to complain of the choice they had made, and were only diligent in proportion as they had more difficulties to encounter with. Thus, one settlement producing another by a laudable industry they laid the foundation of a great empire, and equally benefited themselves and their mother country.

But in this place we will stop to give the reader some account of the climate and natural productions of New England. The summer season is warm, but of short duration. For the space of two months, the sky continues perfectly clear, which renders the country so healthy, that it is reported to agree better with British constitutions, than any other of the American provinces. The winters are long and severe, the wind often boisterous, and the air extremely sharp, but not intolerable. Naturalists ascribe the early approach, the length, and the severity of the winter season, to the large fresh water lakes, lying to the north west of New England. Towards the sea, the land is low and marshy; but, as you approach the interior country, it rises into hills, and on the north-east becomes altogether rocky.

rocky and mountainous. Round Massachusetts Bay, the soil is black, and as rich as in any part of England; and the first planters found the grass above a yard high, but rank for want of mowing. The uplands are less fruitful; being for the most a mixture of sand and gravel, inclining to clay; though even there a sufficient quantity of corn, and culinary vegetables are produced for the subsistence of the inhabitants.

Few countries are better watered with rivers and lakes than New England, though the latter are not so considerable as those to the west and northward. Seven of the rivers are navigable, all abound in fish, and many of them answer every purpose of commerce. Connecticut river, in particular, may be navigable a great way by the largest vessels. It rises in the northern frontier of the province, and runs directly south, through the district of its own name, until it discharges itself between the towns of Saybrook and Line; after a course of two hundred miles. The other most considerable streams are the Thames, Piscataqua, Merimech, Saca, Kennebec, Patuxet, Gusco, and a few others; and to the convenience of so many fine rivers, may we ascribe the great number of large and populous towns in this province. Besides river fish, the coast abounds with cod; and formerly there was a whale-fishery between New England and New York, which is now entirely engrossed by the Newfoundlanders.

landers. The cod taken here are salted and exported, not only to the sugar colonies, but likewise to Europe, constituting a very considerable article in the trade of the province.

The country is fruitful in all kinds of esculent plants, pulse, and corn; but Indian corn, or maize, which the natives call Weachin, is the most cultivated, and was alone known here on the first arrival of the Europeans. The following is the account of it, communicated to the royal society by Mr. Winstrop, and judged worthy of being inserted in the Philosophical Transactions. "The ear is a span long, composed of eight or more rows of grain, according to the quality of the soil, and about thirty grains in each row; so that each ear, at a medium, produces about two hundred and forty grains, which is an astonishing increase. It is of various colours, red, white, yellow, black, green, &c. and the diversity frequently appears not only in the same field, but in the very same ear of corn; though white and yellow be the most common. Strong thick husks shield the tender ear from cold and storms; and in many of the provinces in North America, the stalk grows seven or eight feet high, and proportionably strong and thick. It is observable, that the maize dwindles, the farther you advance to the northward, whence it appears that warm climates are more congenial to its nature; and indeed its luxuriance in the hottest climes on the coast of Africa sufficiently evince the Indian corn

corn to be a native of the more southern latitudes. The stalk is jointed like a cane, is supplied with a juice as sweet as that of the sugar cane; but from the experiments that have been made, it appears to be incapable of being rendered useful. Every joint is marked with a long leaf or flag, and, at the top, shoots a branch of flowers like rye blossoms. The usual time of sowing, or, as it is here called, of planting, is from the middle of April to the middle of May; but, in the northern countries, the corn is not put in the ground before June; yet the harvest is ripe in due season, owing to the extreme warmth of the summer months. This corn the Indians boil till it is tender, and eat with fish, fowl, or flesh, as bread. Sometimes they bruise it in mortars, and then boil it; but the most usual method is to dry the corn high, without burning, to sift and beat it in mortars into fine meal, which the Indians either eat dry or mixed with water. The English bake it into bread in the same manner as flour; but the best food made from it is called Samfi; the corn being steeped in water, for half an hour, beat in a mortar until it is thoroughly cleared of the husk, then sifted, boiled, and eaten with milk, or butter and sugar, like rice; which is not only an agreeable, but an wholesome diet. Good strong beer may also be brewed from it, green, without using the expensive European method of malting.

New England produces a great variety of fowls ; such as geese, ducks, turkies, hens, partridges, wild-geons, swans, herons, heathcocks, pigeons, &c. Nor is the feathered kind in greater plenty than are the quadrupeds more immediately necessary to human subsistence and convenience. All kinds of European cattle thrive here, and multiply exceedingly ; the horses of the province are hardy, mettlesome and serviceable, but small. Here also are elks, deer, hares, rabbits, squirrels, beavers, otters, minks, racoons, sables, bears, wolves, foxes, ounces, and a variety of other tame and wild quadrupeds ; some of which are imported into Great Britain, as foreign curiosities. But the most extraordinary of these animals is called the Mose, which is thus described by Mr. Josselyn, in his rarities of New England.

“ The Mose is about twelve feet high, having
 “ four horns, and broad palms, some distant near
 “ twelve feet from the tip of one horn to the other.
 “ His body is about the size of a bull’s ; his neck
 “ resembles a stag’s ; his tail is somewhat longer,
 “ and his flesh extremely grateful.” This author describes the manner of hunting the Mose ; but, as we believe that diversion is now pretty well over, we shall not extend an extract, which many readers may ascribe to credulity. The rattle-snake is another natural curiosity of this country, though not peculiar to New England. The account given of this

venomous animal is, that Nature has wisely provided it should give warning of its motions by a rattle of twenty loose, hard, cartilaginous rings in the tail, which shake and beat as it moves, without any voluntary exertion. Some, indeed, alledge it only makes a noise when the animal apprehends itself in danger, and calls out for assistance. In length, this snake is commonly about four or five feet, is less hazardous than other serpents, and seldom attacks any human creature without provocation; is provided like the viper with a poisonous bag, at the root of a hollow forked tooth, which, being compressed, as the animal fixes its jaws, pours out a strong poison on the wound, that is mortal in a few hours, unless proper remedies are applied.

New England abounds in excellent timber, oak, ash, pine, fir, cedar, elm, cypress, beech, walnut, chesnut, hazel, saffrafras, samach, and other woods used in dying, or tanning leather, carpenters work, and ship-building; yet such was the destruction made in the forests, that a law was passed to prevent the waste of woods, by inflicting penalties on those who cut down trees of a certain kind, before they were arrived at a specified growth and age. The pines are equal to those of Norway in growth and straitness; and it is certain, Great Britain might be provided from this country with all the materials of ship-building, at present purchased in the northern kingdoms, at the expence of a considerable sum of ready money to the nation. The oak, indeed,

deed, is reported to be inferior in quality to that of England ; but as the forests of Great Britain are on the decline, it is certainly politic to be careful of this valuable commodity.—But it is now time to return to our history.

OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND NOVA-SCOTIA.

WHILE the colony of James-Town was increasing, other settlements had been established along the coast ; and Newfoundland was peopled by the English.—Sebastian Cabot, in the year 1497, first discovered this island, which is situated between 46 and 51 degrees north, and is bordered on the north and south by Canada and Nova Scotia, the latter being separated from it by a narrow channel.

A fruitless expedition thither was undertaken by some private adventurers in the reign of King Henry VIII. In 1519, Mr. Cotton of Southampton sent captain Whitburn to fish on the great bank ; and he was afterwards employed by Mr. Crook of the same place for the like purpose. While this gentleman stayed on the island, Sir Humphrey Gilbert arriving there, took possession of it for Queen Elizabeth. About fourteen years after this, Sir Laurence Tanfield, Sir John Doddridge, and Sir Francis Bacon, with several other persons of note, obtained a grant of lands from Cape Bona-

vista to St. Mary's, whither a colony was sent under the conduct of Mr. Guy. In 1614, captain Whitburn again sailed thither with a commission to enquire into divers abuses among those who carried on the fishery, which was become very extensive.

The next year a little colony was founded at Cambriol, on the southern part of Newfoundland, of which the same Whitburn was appointed governor. Sir George Vaughan, a Roman Catholic, also obtained the grant of that part of the coast lying between St. Mary's to the southward, and the Bay of Bulls to the eastward; and the puritans resorted thither. Captain Edward Wynne arrived before Sir George, with a small colony, at Newfoundland, to prepare every thing necessary for him; and bore the commission of governor. He placed himself at Ferry-land, erected granaries, and accommodated every thing as well as the situation would admit of. Lord Faulkland, lieutenant of Ireland, also sent a colony to Newfoundland: but at this time the proprietor, who was made lord Baltimore, returned to England, where he got a grant of Maryland, on the continent of North America; notwithstanding which he still kept his settlement at Ferry-land, which he governed by his deputies. Colonies were in a few years planted in various parts of the island; and the French, not to be behind hand with us, seated themselves at Placentia. From the time, however, that these last arrived, they were constantly quarrelling

ing with their neighbours, and frequent engagements happened between them with various successes: but peace at last determined the matter, and secured to us our rights, unless the French shall be in a condition to break the treaty.

The weather, in this country, runs upon extremes; the summers are very hot, the winters excessively cold, and exhibit a disagreeable prospect of snow and ice for whole months together; and, whatever some visionary writers may have dreamed of the fertility of its soil, and the beauty of its landscapes, it is certain, that the ground is in general barren, yielding moss instead of grass, and so little of corn and other natural products, and that the inhabitants are obliged to be dependant on their supplies from Europe for the necessities of life. Timber, however, is plentiful here, and the country abounds in deer, hare, and beavers. But the sea is the greatest mine of treasure it can boast: it is for the sake of the cod-fishery, so often disputed between the English and the French, that both nations have so earnestly desired a settlement in this island. The natives are a people of a mild disposition, but much given to pilfering and other mean tricks, of which they are not at all ashamed. They paint their bodies, and are beardless, a circumstance which seems to arise from a method they have of plucking the hairs out by the roots the moment they appear. They are short, strong men, with broad faces, but in general ill-shaped, and often much deformed in their features.

Nova

Nova Scotia, on which Newfoundland borders, is the next British settlementt we shall consider; and which comprehending Acadia, is bounded to the east and south by the ocean ; on the north-east and north-west by the river St. Laurence, and on the west and south-west by Canada and New England, extending from the 43d to the 51st degree of north latitude, and including a space of near six hundred English miles *.

In 1618, governor Argol sailed to Cape Cod, where being informed that the French had made a settlement to the northward, at St. Croix, he proceeded thither, and found a little colony, with a small fort, and a ship at anchor ; of the latter he made himself master, and then turned his arms against the garrison, who surrendered at discretion. He afterwards dislodged the French from another post at Port Royale, the garrison and people of which were transported to Canada, where, by their unwearied industry and artful policy, they raised at last a flourishing colony. It appears, that king Charles the First, considered Nova Scotia, and Canada as the property of England, and he made out grants †

* The French still call this country L'Acadie; but under that name numberless have been the disputes with regard to its boundaries: these our good neighbours having always endeavoured to secure to themselves the most beautiful and best cultivated spots, would generously have permitted us to plant colonies on all the barren rocks in North America.

† To Sir David Kirk and Sir William Alexander.

accordingly.

accordingly. However, in 1632, for reasons best known to himself, he relinquished this right; but Cromwel, more spirited, took the matter into consideration, and sent major Sedgwick into Canada, who reduced the country, and obliged the French to submit at discretion. Treaty confirmed it to the English, in the year 1655*.

When the French were settled in their possessions, having formed alliances with the natives, whose friendship they used every art to cultivate, they soon became very troublesome to the English colonies, and together with their savage allies, they were guilty of such insults and depredations, as it was thought highly proper to chastise them for. Colonel Phipps was accordingly sent in the year 1690, with seven hundred men, to attack Port Royale, which was not a strongly fortified place. The governor capitulated, and was sent to Canada. This advantage was yielded up by treaty, but in 1709, the French were a second time obliged to evacuate Port Royale, to which the name of Annapolis Royal was given. By the peace of Utrecht, the whole province was ceded to Britain, together with an extensive right of fishing on the coast.

* The French pretended to have made a purchase of this country for five thousand pounds, a price which was never paid, allowing that there was such a bargain; — that there was, is much to be doubted.

But

But the French, regardless of the treaty, acted, from time to time, in open violation of it; they were always engaged in cabals with the Indians, and frequently proceeded to open acts of hostility. By means, of these, they insulted the English vessels fishing on the coast, killed several Europeans, and attacked Annapolis, but were repulsed with loss. Nova Scotia, which seems to have been little attended to by the English, was soon reduced to a ruinous condition; and, in 1745, the French at Louisbourg, having first seized Canso, and covered the seas with privateers, made an attempt on Annapolis, under the conduct of a French missionary named Luttre; but the arrival of a privateer from Boston, obliged him to decamp; yet the principal inhabitants sent their most valuable effects thither.

Du Vivier soon after joined the French missionary with a body of Indians and sixty of his regulars. Being encamped at Minas, he repeatedly summoned the garrison of Annapolis to surrender, but in vain; they held out bravely, and the consequence was, that he was obliged to desist from his enterprize.

The government of Massachuset Bay, about this time declared war with the Indians of Cape Sable, forbidding all the natives who were in alliance with the English, from holding any correspondence with the enemy; but they forbade in vain. The French found the means of drawing them

them off from their allegiance, and one thousand of them joining M. Marin, a Canadian, once more besieged Annapolis, but were called away to defend Louisbourg, which was then attacked by the English both by land and sea.

M. Ramsay, and M. d'Anville, again successively attacked this seemingly devoted place, but both met with the same ill fortune as their predecessors in command had done. After various successes in these parts, the French at last, at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, ceded Nova Scotia to Great-Britain; but the treaties of that nation, like the oracles of old, generally admitting of equivocation, this formal cession prevented not a series of disputes concerning the limits of the territory in question, and contributed to give rise to another war.

Annapolis and Canso are the chief towns in this province, the former of which has an excellent harbour, capable of containing a thousand vessels. Canso is situate on the eastern shore, is chiefly useful on account of its fishery. But here we must not omit to mention the town of Halifax, which owes its first establishment to the earl of that name, —Three thousand families were transported to the new settlement in this country in 1743, and soldiers stationed there to protect them from the insults of the natives. Halifax has a fine harbour, and is otherwise very commodiously situated; it makes no contemptible figure; yet the ground is

not well improved, as it is difficult to be cleared, and far from being very fertile. The incursions of the Indians here are very frequent and very troublesome, and prevent the colonists from carrying on their works of agriculture. They are obliged to New England for most of the necessaries of life, having little of their own besides the fishery to subsist on.—There is also a little settlement of Germans from Halifax, at a place called Lunenburg. — The Cape Sable coast is valuable on account of fishing, and is famous also for good harbours. — The island of Sables lies within the same jurisdiction.

Cape Breton is the largest island in the gulph of St. Laurence, situate from 45 to 47 degrees of north latitude: it commands the fisheries in the bay, and, in the hands of the French, might prove a great annoyance to our Newfoundland trade. When the fort of Louisbourg on this isle was last taken by our troops, it was demolished, and left in ruins. St. John's island belongs likewise to the English in these parts; but it is a place of too little consideration to be dwelt upon in this history.

The whole territory of Nova Scotia, seems to have been rather kept as a barrier and defence of our colonies, than for any vast profits of another kind which could accrue to either party from the possession of it; since, as we have already observed, the soil is far from being fruitful, and
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were the assistance it receives from the mother country withdrawn from it, it would at once fall to nothing; yet here it was, on this unlovely spot, that the French, as we have already observed, made their early settlements, and from hence overspread Canada, and the adjacent country. We have now got rid of these troublesome neighbours; and not only this province, but a vast tract of North America, formerly in their territory, acknowledges our sovereignty, and pays obedience to a British government: thus have those disturbers of the peace by a just dispensation of Fate, not only lost what they unjustly contended for, but also their own possessions with it.

OF NEW ENGLAND AND THE CHARTER-GOVERNMENTS.

HAVING thus described these northern colonies, we shall now return to the affairs of New-England, or Virginia, of which being the first previously settlement, we were under a necessity to say so much, and have already made mention of a numerous colony at James-Town there.

The dissenters, who began to be very much persecuted at home, had by this time, made a settlement in another part of the country. Some of these, who were retired to Leyden, whose pastor was named Robinson, formed a design of going over to New-England, and, through the intercession

sion of Sir Robert Naunton, the secretary of state, obtained leave from king James I. to put it in execution. After many disappointments, they sailed from Plymouth in two ships, containing one hundred and twenty passengers besides seamen; but either through treachery or mistake, were obliged to land at Cape Cod, where it seems they had no inclination to have disembarked. Mr. John Carver, was chosen their governor, went with sixteen men to Barnstable county, to find a convenient spot to settle on, but returned disappointed. Another party, going in search of a harbour through Patuxet country, met with better success. They found a tract of land which seemed proper for their purpose, settled themselves there, and called it New Plymouth. Many of these new colonists died the succeeding winter. In the spring, a Scgamore, one of the Indian chiefs, visited them, and afterwards prevailed upon the great Sachem Massasoit, with a train of sixty persons to do the same. It is said, this chief made them a present of the land whereon they had built New Plymouth, and all the adjacent country.

Mr. Bradford, who succeeded Carver in the government, being informed of certain depredations committed by some of the savage tribes of Indians, who seemed determined to keep no terms with the English, detached captain Standish, with a small party of men to reduce them, which he did so effectually, that it is said, the neighbouring chiefs

chiefs made a formal submission *. The planters had now great hopes of success, to ensure which however, their ship the Mayflower, was dispatched to England, in the spring of the year 1621. A great number of passengers arriving soon after, with one Weston, provisions grew scarce; and as these new settlers had brought none with them, it is likely a famine would have ensued, but that the arrival of an English merchantman on the coast prevented it. Weston produced a patent for establishing a new settlement, at a place called Wampanoag, in order to propagate the doctrines of the church of England. He was justly disgusted at the formal cant of some of the puritans, and they were no less displeased with his religious principles: the consequence was, that the two colo-

* In the accounts which mention this submission, we find a copy of an instrument, whereby they bound themselves, which runs as follows:

“ Know all men by these presents, that we, whose names are hereunto annexed, do acknowledge ourselves the legal subjects of James, king of Great-Britain. In witness whereof, and as a testimony of the same, we have subscribed our names or marks, as followeth: [Obquatnehad, Cawnacome, Obbatinua, Nattamawhunt, Coubatant, Chillaback, Quadaquina, Huttamoiden, Apadnow.]” — This story however carries with it rather too much of the air of a romance. First, because it is unlikely the savages should be so generous as to make such a grant; and, Secondly, because it is almost certain that they were ignorant of the nature of written deeds; and if they did really sign such agreement, they knew not what they did, and might the more easily be imposed on.

nies

nies became in their hearts inveterate enemies. A conspiracy of the Indians was at this time reported to be formed against the new comers, which the dissenters attributed to the irregularities they pretended to have seen practised by those men; though others are of opinion, that all this was no more than a scheme of the formalists to ruin the settlement, and to gain honour by suppressing a plot that they themselves had first encouraged, or which had perhaps no real existence. — This latter opinion seems to be the more truly founded, as captain Standish from New Plymouth, assisted by eight men only, suppressed this dreadful conspiracy.

This colony now grew to a flourishing state, and plans were laid in Old England, for introducing episcopacy among them. Mr. Gorges, son to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, arrived there with several families, and a church of England clergyman. They opposed him; the true spirit of fanatic obstinacy prevailed, and, weary of contending with a people whom he found it impossible to bring to reason, he returned with all his associates. The New-Plymouthers some time afterwards made several overtures towards purchasing the patent of the Plymouth company. In this they met with some obstacles; but at last, sending over Mr. Winslow, he obtained it for their governor, who surrendered it to the general council. The assistants were increased to five; for the republican spirit of these colonists rendered them extremely fearful of trusting

trusting power even with one who had never done any thing to forfeit their esteem and confidence. Mr. Winslow, returning from his negotiation in the year 1624, brought over, amongst other supplies, a bull and three heifers, the first ever seen in those parts. He also furnished the colonists with hogs and poultry, which increased exceedingly. At this time the town of New Plymouth contained thirty-two houses, inhabited by one hundred and eighty people. It was half a mile in circumference, fenced in with pales, and had a watch-tower in the middle. The lands around it were cleared and cultivated, on which many planters lived like our farmers with their families.

In 1626, captain Woolaston came over with a view to settle on Massachusetts Bay, at a place now called Braintree, but failing in his design, he went from thence to Virginia, where his men mutinied, and chose one Morton for their chief, who having committed the heinous crime of dancing with his men, round a maypole, in contempt of the puritans*, the government of New Plymouth sent captain Standish with a party to secure him, which was done with difficulty, and he was sent over

* Some of their party accused him likewise of having taught the Indians the use of fire-arms, which, if it were true, was at that time a very wrong action; but it is likely this charge had its birth from the dislike his contempt of the puritans had excited in their bosoms; and that they only took this opportunity to vex him who had despised them.

36 BRITISH EMPIRE

to be tried by the New England council, who deeming his impeachment a frivolous one, took no notice of it; and thus the matter ended. — It is remarkable in this proceeding, that the colonists fought not to punish Morton for mutinying against his superior; that they deemed pardonable; but a contemptuous treatment of them and their formalities was a crime never to be forgiven. I only observe this, in support of a very just maxim, “That contempt is worse to bear than hatred is to self, and that one might more safely attack the persons of some men than their ridiculous opinions.”

This design of Woolaston's having thus miscarried, Mr. John White, minister of Dorchester, got a patent from the council of Plymouth, to Sir Henry Roswel, Sir John Young, and many others, for that part of New England which is situate three miles north of the river Merrimach; and as many to the south of Charles-River, which falls into the sea, at the bottom of Massachuset-Bay. The first patentees associated to themselves soon afterwards a number of other gentlemen, which obliged them to take out a new patent in March, 1628, being incorporated under the title of “The Governor and Company of Massachuset Bay, in New England.” They had the power of electing a governor and magistrates, and of making laws, not repugnant to those of the mother-country, with a full liberty of conscience granted to the settlers.

ders. Charles I. gave them a patent to hold those lands; yielding to his majesty a fifth of all the gold and silver ore that should be found in the country.

Mr. Endicot was, in the mean time, dispatched by Mr. White with supplies, and a reinforcement for the new colonists, but lost many of his men by sickness. — Six ships were prepared, and about three hundred and fifty persons were embarked on board them, with cattle, and other necessaries of life, as also warlike stores and provisions. The government of New Plymouth was of great use to these; but they made their conditions, that they should adopt no other system than that of the puritans, to which they were obliged to agree, though it was contrary to the constitution of the colonies, and directly opposite to the first design of them, which was to allow liberty of conscience; but so far were these men from acting up to the spirit of toleration, which they had formerly professed, that they sent home two brothers of the name of Browne, for no other offence, than that of following the church of England, although they were patentees. This conduct was highly absurd and blameable, and favoured so strongly of persecution, that many of their friends in England censured the proceeding; but these were placed at too great a distance for their censures to be regarded.

58 BRITISH EMPIRE

The first governor of this colony was Matthew Craddock, Esq. (whose deputy was Mr. John Endicot) to this first mentioned gentleman succeeded Mr. Winthrop, who had sold his estate to raise money for the colony; to Endicot, succeeded Dudley, once a soldier, but now a zealous puritan. On board this second fleet were two hundred passengers, who arrived at Salem in a bad state of health. An hundred of the colonists, in the mean while, whom Mr. Endicot had carried over, died of disease, a circumstance which must have been owing to the unwholsomeness and inconveniences arising from an uncleared country, to such as were accustomed to dwell in great cities and cultivated spots of ground; the greatest proof of which is, that, since the number and industry of the colonists have promoted the works of agriculture, and altered the face of the country, we no longer hear of such mortalities.

The new colonists being divided into two parties, one settled at a place called Dorchester, at the bottom of Massachusetts Bay, and the other at Charlestown; but the latter soon after removed to Boston, and founded that metropolis since so remarkable in the annals of New England*.

It was now that the settlement grew flourishing and so formidable as to attract the jealousy of the

* Wilkon, Wareham, Hooker, and Elliot puritan ministers were the chief promoters of this colony, the last of whom the formalists affected to call the apostle of the new world.

natives.

natives. They watched these inmates with an envious eye, and began to meditate mischief against them; when their mortal enemy the small-pox defeated all their schemes, and almost extirpated the whole race of Indians inhabiting that part of the country.

Nor were the colonists behind-hand with the savages in revenging, when it was in their power, the ill offices and insults done or designed to be done them by the savages; perhaps they sometimes carried their resentments too far, and were not over scrupulous in considering the natural rights of the Indians, but often adopted maxims which were neither just nor politic in this regard, neither were they always of a tolerant spirit to their countrymen, some of whom they took prisoners and sent home to Old England upon very frivolous pretences*. About this time, two English gentle-

* Among these was Sir Christopher Gardiner, a gentleman who having lived extravagantly in his youth, settled amongst the Indians near Boston with his lady, in order to pass his life in retirement. Some busy persons having persuaded the governor that he was a catholic (though he professed himself, and in all probability was, a dissenter) the Indians were engaged to take him prisoner, which they did with great difficulty, for having made a brave resistance, he received some wounds in the encounter, which being first cured, he was afterwards carried back to England, where not a single article of impeachment was exhibited against him. He very justly exclaimed against these proceedings, and was ever after an avowed enemy to the colony,

men setting out in a small vessel from New England towards Virginia, seized two Pequot Indians, a tribe inhabiting the neighbourhood of New Plymouth, to pilot them up Connecticut river. To revenge this injury, and perhaps to prevent greater which they suspected were planning against them, the Indians surprized and put to death the two aggressors, together with six of their attendants; and the vessel was blown up, either by chance or design, after it had been plundered of what they deemed most valuable.

The differences between the English and these natives still increasing, it was thought proper to

Sir Henry Vane the younger, in the year 1635, went over to New England in a fleet of twenty sail, well provided with stores and passengers of all kinds. He is said to have been encouraged to this voyage by Charles I. himself, who wanted to be rid of him, and persuaded his father to let him be absent for three years. A man of his figure and reputation highly engaged the attention of both Old and New England; and, instead of forming a settlement, as he proposed to do, on the banks of Connecticut River, he accepted of the government of Massachusetts, which was offered him. His scheme of government was entirely different from the principles of the ruling party there, who, most inconsistently with their own conduct, demanded a rigorous conformity, through all their colony, in matters of religion. Sir Henry, (who, if he had any principle, adopted that which was afterwards called independency) was for a comprehension of the baptists, and all the other sectaries who dissented from the church of England; nor would he be dictated to by the ministers and their ruling elders. Being as violent as they were obstinate, at the next election he was set aside, and Mr. Winthrop was replaced in the government; upon which Sir
make

make a settlement on Connecticut River, in order that it might prove a check upon the latter. A detachment was accordingly sent thither under Mr. Hooker; these built the town of Hertford on the banks of that river. Several others were built afterwards by succeeding settlers; and, notwithstanding they were ill supplied with provisions, and many persons deserted the colony, to go back to their former plantation, who lost their lives in the attempt, yet in 1636, it was in a very promising state, and was erected into a separate government.

It was now become a prevailing custom in Britain for people to emigrate to North America. The earl of Warwick obtained a grant from the

Henry returned to England, where he acted a part sufficiently known in history.

One Mr. Williams, the minister of Salem, had broached several wrong-headed opinions, and amongst others the following, viz. That it was not lawful for good men to join in family prayer with the wicked; that it was unlawful to take an oath to the civil magistrate; and that the king of England having no right over the Indians of America, his patent was invalid; with several other principles of the like tendency. Williams was so obstinate, that he defended his doctrines, for which he and his followers were driven out of Massachusetts colony, and took refuge on the banks of an adjoining river, where they built a town, which they called Providence, lying to the southward of Plymouth, opposite Rhode-Island, and in the country of the Narragansets. Williams, in other respects, seems to have been a wise, virtuous, worthy man, and proved afterwards to be one of the greatest benefactors to the new settlement that ever went from Old England.

king

king of certain lands extending for the space of forty leagues from the river Narangset, which he made over to the lords Brooke and Say, Charles Fiennes, Esq. Sir Nathanael Rich, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Richard Knightly, Esq. John Pym, Esq. John Hampden, Esq. and Mr. Herbert Pelham. But as these gentlemen imagined from some apparent circumstances, that affairs in England would take a different turn from what they had done for some time passed, and as the court began to take measures for restraining the subjects from emigrating, they disposed of their lands and laid aside their design of leaving their native country.

Meanwhile, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Oliver Cromwel, and others, were prevented from trying their fortunes in New England, by an embargo laid upon the shipping by king Charles I. whereby eight vessels were prevented from sailing for those parts.— Let us view this measure in what light we please, the absurdity of it is equally striking; it was no less impolitic than unjust; and by it that unhappy prince sealed, as it were, the warrant for his own death. If these men were become troublesome to the church and state, where could a fairer opportunity be found to get rid of them? At home they were malecontents; abroad it was evident they might be of service to their mother-country. It would therefore have been the wisdom of government to have given them all manner of assistance in their emigrations, rather than to have restrained them

them; but such methods of educing good out of evil, were measures unknown to this unfortunate reign.—As prohibition increases desire, so the power of the court was not sufficient to prevent people from transporting themselves to America. The colony of Massachusetts Bay was overstocked with planters; more lands were purchased of the Indians between Connecticut River and New York; and the government of Newhaven was founded, which together with Long-Island was comprehended in the purchase, and was soon filled with towns.

The Dutch were, by this time, settled in the country now distinguished by the name of New-York, and began to be uneasy at the success of their neighbours the English, the French also who were seated in Canada used all possible means to disturb and incommode them; and the new colony was besides vexed with internal feuds and dissensions. The Pequots (who were engaged in a war with their neighbours the Naragansets) took every occasion to alarm and disturb the English, who had hitherto borne their insults only because they were not in very good condition to revenge them. But at this period, as the four sister-colonies could raise seven thousand men, the Indians wisely enough pretended to enter into alliance with them. — After many fruitless overtures, they at length declared they would be friends to the English, if they could bring about a peace between them and the Naragansets: but this could not easily be effected, and the

the savages, once more giving way to their evil inclinations, killed several Englishmen at Weathersfield, a town situate on Connecticut River, and took two young maidens prisoners, who would have fallen the victims of their cruelty and lust, and in the end been put to death by torture, had not the Sachem's wife, a woman of a most noble and amiable character, interceded for them, with a tenderness truly becoming her sex, delivered them from the savage fury of her countrymen, and taken them under her protection. — An hundred and twenty men, under the conduct of captain Endicott were sent by the English to demand satisfaction for these depredations. The Indians fled before them, but, on their retreat, attacked the English fort called Seabrook, where being repulsed, they killed some stragglers in the fields, and made application even to their enemies the Naragansets for aid, which these not only refused, but joined the colonists against them, to whom they granted a free passage through their country to attack them.

Sassacus, Sachem of the Pequots, was so brave and warlike a chief, that he was deemed invincible. On intelligence of the approach of the New England men, he had divided his troops into two bodies and made them retire into two forts on the river Mistic. The first of these the English surprised in the night, set fire to it, and put to the sword all who escaped the flames. Were it not from a consideration of the necessity of these severe proceedings,

proceedings where an enemy is at the same time so numerous and so savage, this action could with no shadow of justice be called any thing else than a barbarous massacre, in which above four hundred sleeping persons lost their lives, many of whom could really be charged with no offence against the English or their allies. By this time the Indian chief Sassacus had collected a body of six hundred men with which he harrassed the rear of the English army; but the good success which the latter met with in their undertakings, occasioned his faithless troops to leave their brave prince. Meanwhile a second party of the colonists arrived from Massachusetts Bay, who committed many cruelties in the Pequot country, putting to death two of their sachems, and sparing a third, on condition only that he should betray Sassacus, who made his escape, however, to the country of the Mohocks, where he was treacherously murdered. — Had his own men stood by him it is certain that he would have given his enemies a great deal of trouble before they could have completely vanquished him; but the savages were so struck with the superiority of the English, and so much surprised at seeing them gain any advantage over a chief whom they counted almost immortal, that they refused to be brought to the charge, and by flying, most probably, lost more of their people than they would have done by fighting; but their fears overcame

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their reason, and gave their neighbours even more advantages than they could have expected.

A party of the colonists in one of their expeditions, drove eight hundred of the Indians, with two hundred of their wives and children into a swamp. A fog arising, favoured the escape of the former, though not without leaving several dead and wounded behind them. But the helpless women and infants remaining, were obliged to surrender at discretion to the conquerors. The sachem's wife who had delivered the Weathersfield maidens, was among them. She made two requests, which arose from a tenderness and virtue not common among savages. The first was, that her chastity might remain unviolated, and the second, that her children might not be taken away from her. The amiable sweetness of her countenance, and the modest dignity of her deportment, were worthy of the character she supported for innocence and justice, and were sufficient to shew the Europeans that even barbarous nations sometimes produce instances of heroic virtue.

The women and children taken in this attack, were dispersed through the neighbouring colonies, the male infants excepted, who were sent to the Bermudas. The English seemed fully determined on destroying the whole race of the Pequot Indians, whose lands were distributed among the settlers; some quitting their own country, and others surrendering to the victors, who were no longer willing

willing to let them remain a nation, but distributed them among the Naragansets, and other neighbouring Indians.

But while these affairs were so successfully carried on, the colonists began to be made unhappy by dissensions among themselves, which happened in consequence of some ridiculous theological disputes. "Whether the covenant of works, or the covenant of grace ought to have the preference," was become a most important question; and this took its rise from women, whom alone such arguments could beseem. Their husbands, however, caught the contagion of their nonsense. Assemblies were holden in the houses of female fanatics, and discourses delivered, equally contrary to the spirit of good sense and of true religion. The Antinomians thus fostered in these parts, began to grow extremely troublesome to the clergy of New England. The lowest of the people were set up for preachers, and the old ministers turned out; with many such fooleries. The magistrates, at length, called a synod, which took cognizance of the affair, and condemned the sectaries, who purchased the land called Rhode-Island, which was soon well peopled, and is at present a very flourishing colony. Thus good arose from evil, and even disputes and debates produced population and convenience. Every thing tended to the increase of the inhabitants. All difficulties were sur-

mounted by the industry of the planters, and their toils were crowned with the deserved success.

At this time there happened also some civil contentions among the New England people. The inhabitants of Hingham, in Suffolk county, having broken the peace, Mr. Winthrop, the deputy-governor of Massachusetts Bay, committed the rioters to prison, on refusing to give bail. A petition was soon afterwards presented by some of the inhabitants, who insisted on a right of appealing to the English parliament, for which they were fined and imprisoned. Mr. Winthrop was the chief object of their complaints, and, on the trial, was ordered to descend from the bench and vindicate himself. He did so, to the universal satisfaction of the magistrates and people, and the fines of the offenders were increased. He then resumed his seat and office, and harangued the assembly in a manner which did equal honour to the integrity of his heart, and the soundness of his understanding*.

* The excellent speech here alluded to was couched in the following terms.

“ Gentlemen,

“ I will not look back to the past proceedings of this court,
 “ nor to the persons therein concerned: I am satisfied that I was
 “ publicly accused, and that I am now publicly acquitted; but
 “ give me leave to say something on this occasion, that may re-
 “ tify the opinion of the people, from whom these distempers of
 “ the state have arisen. The questions that have troubled the
 “ country of late have been about the authority of the magistrate,
 “ and the liberty of the people. Magistrates are certainly an ap-
 It

It is necessary to take notice that the four provinces of New England united themselves in a general confederacy, yet retained the constitution and independency of their separate government. This in its form somewhat resembled the union of the seven provinces. The deputies sat like the states of Holland, but were subject to no other controul than that of their constituents; and thus they erected themselves into a sort of republican government, though they acknowledged themselves the subjects of a limited monarchy.

This project had been long in agitation, and, at last, on the seventh of September, 1643, the same was effected by an instrument under the following title, viz. "Articles of confederation, between the plantations under the government of the Massachusetts, the plantations under the go-

"pointment of God; and I intreat you to consider that you chose
 "them from among yourselves, and that they are men, subject
 "to the like passions with yourselves. — We take an oath to
 "govern you according to God's laws and our own, to the best
 "of our skill; if we commit errors, not willingly, but for want
 "of skill, you ought to bear with us. Nor would I have you
 "mistake your own liberty. There is a liberty in doing what
 "we list, without regard to law or justice: this liberty is indeed
 "inconsistent with authority; but civil, moral, federal liberty
 "consists in every one's enjoying his property, and having the
 "benefit of the laws of his country; this is what you ought to
 "contend for, with the hazard of your lives; but this is very
 "consistent with a due subjection to the civil magistrate, and the
 "paying him that respect that his character in common requires."

"vernment

“vernment of Plymouth, the plantations under
 “the government of Connecticut, and the govern-
 “ment of Newhaven, with the plantations in
 “combination therewith.”—By those articles they
 declared that they all came into those parts of
 America with the same errand and aim, to ad-
 vance the christian religion, and enjoy the liber-
 ty of their consciences with purity and peace;
 that two commissioners should annually be cho-
 sen, who should have full powers from the ge-
 neral court of each settlement to meet at an ap-
 pointed place to concert and conclude matters
 of general concernment, such as peace, or war,
 and other affairs conducive to the general wel-
 fare of the confederacy*.

* Here it may not be improper to take a view of certain laws and customs, peculiar to this government of the four provinces thus united, as we find them set down in Douglas's Summary, and other writers of authority.

For many years from the beginning, the governor, assistants, or council, not under seven, and deputies or representatives in a legislative capacity voted together; but from long experience divers inconveniences were found to arise, and it was enacted in 1652, that the magistrates [governor and council] should sit and vote apart, constituting a separate negative.

Their enacting style was, *It is ordered by this court, and the authority thereof.*

The governor, deputy governor, and assistants, or council called magistrates, were the superior court for appeals in civil cases; and were the court of oyer and terminer in cases of life, member, banishment, and divorce. After they were constituted

The

The colony of New Plymouth was, before this period, so filled with planters that they began to forsake the settlement, the soil of which was by this time pretty much worn out, and removed to

two distinct houses, if they happened to differ in any cases of judicature, civil or criminal, the affair was to be determined by a vote of the whole court met together. The general court only had power to pardon condemned criminals. The governor, when present, was president in all courts. No general court to be continued above one year. The governor, deputy-governor, or majority of the assistants, may call a general assembly; but this assembly is not to be adjourned or dissolved, but by a vote of the same.

County courts may admit freemen, being church-members, that is, of the independent or congregational religious mode;—only freemen were capable of voting in civil assemblies: 1662,—upon the king's letter, this law was repealed.

Formerly some townships had it in their option, to send or not to send deputies to the general assembly. The deputies of Dover, and such other towns as are not by law bound to send deputies, may be excused.

The officers annually elected by the freemen in general (not by their representatives or deputies in the general court or assembly) were the governor, the deputy-governor, the assistants or council, the treasurer, the major-general, the admiral at sea, the commissioners for the united colonies, and the secretary.

By an act in 1641, the freemen of any shire or town, have liberty to chuse deputies for the general court, either in their own shire or town, or elsewhere as they judge fittest; so they be freemen and inhabiting this jurisdiction.

By a law made in 1654, no person, who is an usual or common attorney in any inferior court, shall be admitted to sit as a deputy in the general court or assembly.

a place

a place called Narnset, where they purchased land of the natives and built the town of Eastham in Barnstable county.

The New Englanders now began to turn their thoughts on the conversion and civilizing of the Indians. Mr. Elliot, a minister, undertook to learn

Where the country or colony laws are deficient, the case shall be determined by the word of God.

Disfranchisement, and banishment, were the usual penalties for great crimes.

Governor and deputy-governor jointly agreeing, or any of their assistants, consenting, have power out of court, to relieve a condemned malefactor, till the next court of assistants, or general court; and the general court only hath power to pardon a condemned malefactor.

1652. Enacted, That a mint-house be erected in Boston, to coin silver of sterling alloy in 12d. 6d. and 3d. pieces, in value less than that of the present English coin by 2d. in the shilling; the stamp to be, within a double ring; on the one side "Massachusetts," with a tree in the centre; on the other side "New-England," with the year 1652, and the figure XII, VI, and III, according to the value of each piece; with a private mark. Excepting English coin, no other money to be current in this common-wealth; 5 per cent. for charges of coining to be allowed by the owners of the silver brought into the mint to be coined. Exportation of this coin, except twenty shillings for necessary expences, is prohibited, on pain of confiscation of all visible estate.—Coinage is a prerogative of the sovereignty, not of a colony. Scarcely any of this coin now appears; with all other silver coin, it is driven away by a multiplied fallacious base paper-currency.

Besides some small duties of impost upon strong liquors imported; and a small excise of 2s. 6d. per hoghead, on cyder, the

the language of the savages, and to preach the gospel among them. In 1646, he advanced into their country whom he intended to convert, having previously sent proper persons to apprise them

and malt liquors retained; and tonnage 6*d.* per ton upon shipping; the ordinary revenue was a poll-tax or capitation upon all male whites of sixteen years of age and upwards, and a rate of — *d.* in the pound of principal estate at small valuations: thus for instance, anno 1651, the tax was 20 *d.* per poll, and a rate of 1 *d.* in the pound estate.

Anno 1692, when the old charter expired, a tax of 10*s.* poll, and a rate of 30 *s.* upon every 100 *l.* of principal estate, was computed to raise 30,000 *l.* value equal to proclamation money.

Anno 1639, a court-merchant is appointed. When a stranger's affairs do not allow him to tarry the ordinary terms of the courts; the governor or deputy, with any three of the assistants, may call a special court.

Several acts for fairs and markets in several towns; for instance, in Boston two yearly fairs, and a weekly market upon the fifth day.

Enacted, a small body of good maritime laws in twenty-seven sections.

The œconomy of their militia was after this manner: — All white men of sixteen years of age and upwards, were enlisted; no company of foot to be under sixty-four private men (small towns are to join) no troops of horse to exceed seventy men. The non-commission officers to be appointed by the commission officers of the company. The commission officers of a company to be chosen by a majority of the men enlisted in that company, to be approved by the county-court, or sessions. All the companies of one county or regiment, by a majority of the men belonging to that regiment are to chuse a serjeant-major of the county, the commander of that regiment. The command of all the militia of the colony was in a major-general, annually

of his coming. The Indians met him at their borders, attended to his preaching, and suffered him to settle in their country, where numbers were

chosen by the general assembly. Any seven assistants, whereof the governor or deputy-governor to be one, may impress soldiers.

To prevent oppression, any person taking excessive wages for work done, or unreasonable prices for necessary merchandise; shall be fined at the discretion of the court where the offence is presented. The select men to regulate the wages of porters.

The forms of their judicial oaths were: — By the name of the Living, and sometimes Ever-living God.—By the great name of the Ever-living Almighty God. — By the great and dreadful name of the Ever-living God.—These were used according to the solemnity of the occasion.

Any person may view and have attested copies of any records; the journals of the council excepted.

Powwowers to be fined five pounds. Jesuits, or any Roman catholic ecclesiasts, to be banished; if they return, to suffer death.—This law was afterwards extended to the quakers.

Anno 1656. None of that cursed sect of heretics, lately risen up in the world, which are commonly called quakers, are to be imported: penalty upon the master 100 l. per piece, and 40 s. per hour, for any other person harbouring or entertaining them.

1658. A quaker convicted, shall be banished upon pain of death.

Penalty for playing at cards or dice 5 s. for observing any such day as Christmas 5 s. profaners of the sabbath-day, for the first offence to be admonished, but for after-offences to be fined. Drinking healths aboard of vessels 20 s. every health. Reviling magistrates or ministers 5 l. or whipping.

1633. Constables are to present unprofitable fowlers, and tobacco-takers, to the next magistrate.

brought

brought over to the christian faith. The government of New England gave him all manner of countenance and assistance. A town was built on the spot, and the tools proper for agriculture

No motion of marriage to be made to any maid, without the consent of her parents. Births, marriages, and deaths to be recorded in each town: to be returned yearly to the county-court or sessions.

The general assembly having received and perused a letter from the privy-council in England, with an act of parliament 12 Carol. II. for the encouraging of shipping and navigation; they appointed naval officers in all their sea-ports, the transactions to be transmitted to London once a year by the secretary.

Women, girls, and boys, are enjoined to spin. The select men of each town, are to assess each family, at one or more spinners: when they have avocations of other business, they are to be deemed half or quarter spinners. A whole spinner shall spin every year, for thirty weeks, three pounds every week of linen, cotton, or woollen.

Five years quiet possession to be deemed a good title. In commonages five sheep shall be reckoned equal to one cow.

1667. No licensed person to sell beer, but of four bushels barley malt at least, to the hoghead, and not to be sold above 2d. the ale quart; not to be mixed with malasses, coarse sugar, or other materials. No mackarel to be caught, except for spending whilst fresh, before the first of July annually. Surveyors appointed to view all shipping in building.

Wampumpeag to be a tender in payment of debts not exceeding 40s. at eight white, or four black a penny,—This was repealed anno 1661.

After a vote passed in an assembly or civil court, a member may enter his dissent, without entering his reasons of dissent to be recorded.

and other necessary employments: being furnished to the savages, the English began to form them into well-ordered societies, and brought them to submit to several regulations* not ill calculated for the

In all assemblies, neuters, that is silent, shall be accounted votes for the negative. Any two magistrates, with the clerk of the county, may take probate of wills, or grant administration.

In old charter times, the colony was at first divided into the three counties of Suffolk, Essex, and Middlesex: when they assumed the jurisdiction of New-Hampshire and the province of Main, and settled compactly upon Connecticut River, the colony, in 1671, was divided into these six counties:

Counties.	Shire-Towns.
Suffolk,	Boston.
Norfolk,	Salisbury and Hampton.
Essex,	Salem and Ipswich.
Piscataqua,	Dover and Portsmouth.
Middlesex,	Charles-Town and Cambridge.
Yorkshire,	York.
Hampshire,	Northampton and Springfield.

* The regulations here mentioned were as follow,—“ If any man be idle a fortnight, he shall forfeit five shillings.— If two unmarried people commit fornication, the man shall pay twenty shillings. If any man shall beat his wife he shall be bound and publicly punished.— Every young man who is unmarried and not another’s servant shall set up a wigwam [or dwelling] for himself, and not shift up and down in those of others, If any woman shall wear her hair cut like a man’s or hanging loose, she shall pay five shillings.— Any woman exposing her breasts without a covering shall forfeit five shillings. — All men who wear long locks shall be fined the same sum.”

first

first advances towards civilizing these barbarians. The inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Concord were so well pleased with the report of these amendments, that they likewise desired to be converted. Mr. Elliot accordingly went and built a town among them. He prevailed upon them to abolish the infamous conjurings and other ridiculous impositions practised by their priests; to make murder and adultery capital crimes, and to establish many other regulations of a similar nature to those he had before introduced among their neighbours. Their bodily welfare was likewise provided for, and cloaths, and other necessaries distributed to them. But now some of the heathen sachems, finding themselves surrounded by the English, began to fear a total subversion of their ancient customs, by the introduction of christians into their territories. One of them, named Cutshamquin, made heavy complaints against them, and prohibited all such of his people as changed their religion from building any towns within his dominions, alledging, that his praying subjects did not pay him tribute as formerly.—After many debates about the matter, however, his Indian majesty turned christian himself, for the sake of increasing his revenue. The converts now built a town in the middle of the Massachusetts, consisting of three streets, two of them separated from the third by a river, but joined by a wooden bridge.

A large

A large house, built after the European manner served for a church, a store house, a school-room, and a dwelling house, for Mr. Elliot. The Indians became schoolmasters, preachers, and even magistrates, in consequence of the wise and just measures at this time taken by the settlers, which tended to the establishment of peace and tranquillity, and the advancement of the interests of the colony.

Yet the heathen Indians, and especially such as had been roughly treated by the English, continued to look with an evil eye upon them, and not to entertain the highest notions of their justice and humanity*. However, 5000 savages were converted, and a society for the propagation of the gospel in those parts was formed, and encouraged by acts of parliament passed in England, where a corporation was established for that purpose, with liberty to purchase lands to the yearly value of six hundred pounds.

Two years before this period, the French had engaged some Indians to massacre the magistrates at Newhaven; but the scheme miscarried. The New Englanders delivered from their enemies, began afresh to persecute their brethren. As soon

* As an instance of this, one Mr. Mayhew endeavouring to convert a sachem, the Indian bad him "Go, and make the English good first." A satewd reply of the savage, which shewed in how little estimation he held the morals of his praying neighbours.

as the presbyterians had received the sanction of the civil power for their ecclesiastical government, they began to treat the different sectaries among themselves with more severity, than they had formerly been treated with by the church of England; the anabaptists and the quakers were the objects of their religious fury, and to these they shewed no mercy.

The persecution first broke out at Rehobeth, in Plymouth county, where several anabaptists who had severed themselves from their brethren, were fined, whipped, and imprisoned. These, like most bigots were as ready to bear punishments, as their adversaries were to inflict them, and made great boasts of what they termed "suffering for the gospel of truth." All sects grow by oppression; and it is not too bold to say, that to this principle under Divine Providence, christianity itself, owed the flourishing state to which, through so many fiery trials, at last it arrived.—Some years afterwards the quakers in the new world as severely felt the iron hand of power. Many of these had come from the West-Indies to settle among the puritans: they were ordered back again, and it was immediately enacted that all masters of vessels bringing any quakers to New England should forfeit a hundred pounds; that all quakers landing in that government should be sent to the house of correction, to be whipped and kept to hard labour, with many other clauses sufficiently severe.

Yet

Yet to these upon a more mature deliberation, were added the following. —

“ A quaker returning to New England after
“ banishment, if a man, to have one ear cut off,
“ and kept to hard labour in the house of correc-
“ tion, till he can be shipped off at his own
“ charges. For the second offence, to lose the
“ other ear, and be kept in the house of correc-
“ tion.—If a woman, to be whipped and kept
“ as abovementioned.—For the third offence, whe-
“ ther men or women, to have their tongues bored
“ with a hot iron, and then to be detained in the
“ house of correction till they can be shipped off
“ at their own charges.” All these laws, hard as
they were, seemed rather to invite the quakers,
than to deter them from flocking to the colonies.

Endicot, the governor, was himself a violent enthusiast. No bounds, consequently, were set to the persecution of these people. It was at length made capital for a quaker to return after having been transported from the colonies. Four of them (three men and one woman) were executed upon this act.—Charles II. who was by this time restored, disapproved of these measures, and sent orders to stop all proceedings against the quakers;—these were not so much attended to as they ought to have been; but they occasioned a repeal of that bloody law which condemned these wretched people to death for their ridiculous opinions.

One

One cannot help remarking here the perverseness of mankind, that has, in almost every age, turned that principle which was intended for the greatest good into the greatest evil.—With what justice did the primitive christians cry out against their heathen adversaries for the severities inflicted upon them! How nobly did they stand the test, and seal with their blood those doctrines they came to preach! The good maxims they inculcated, the simplicity and spotless purity of their lives, their generous forgiveness of those who injured them, and above all their constancy in sufferings, and their love for one another, at last overcame even barbarism itself, and forced the nations to confess the power of that religion which seemed so closely to copy its divine original.—Christianity was favourably received in the world. Mighty princes and great states countenanced and protected it.—What was the consequence?—Those who, during the persecutions of the heathens, had been inseparably united in the bond of love, and walked like brethren together in the steps of their great master, began now to be divided amongst themselves about vain points of speculation. They split into different sects, and whichever of these was uppermost failed not to vex and harass the rest. Councils were called; articles exhibited; decrees made, and men, at length, punished in their persons for mere matters of opinion. The christians then forgot themselves; they were no longer the

children of one father, the servants of one lord, the followers of the meek and humble Patron of their faith;—they appeared rather like so many savages who were entered into a solemn compact to endeavour the destruction of each other.—And since those times, there has scarcely been any church or sect of men, who have not, in their turns whenever they had the authority, played the tyrants over their brethren.—The protestants separated themselves from the Romish church of whose persecuting spirit they with justice complained; yet they could not resist the opportunity of persecuting the dissenters. The zeal of the latter inspired them with an ardour and constancy which got the better of all opposition.—Some wrought the subversion of the state at home, whilst others passed vast oceans, fled to woods and, wilds, and with an indefatigable industry (never too much to be commended) procured to themselves dwellings of peace and security among the haunts of savages, sacrificing to the enjoyment of their rights and liberties every social tie, and all their nearest and dearest connexions.—Let us behold these very people now reaping the fruits of their labours; their new settlements perpetually flourishing and extending themselves, chiefly on account of their being considered as a retreat for all manner of persons from the mother-country. In this view, can any thing be more absurd than to perceive such a society endeavouring

endeavouring to overturn its own establishments, and persecuting with the most implacable hatred a set of poor deluded wretches, whom their contempt would have been the most effectual means of vanquishing?—Surely this is a proof at once of the weakness and of the depravity of human nature, where pride and self-love are suffered to predominate; and it is the most humiliating circumstance to a philanthropist, to consider that the same spirit has reigned so universally through the world, which defeats the ends intended to be answered by true religion, converts that great light from heaven into the grossness of darkness, and leaves us in a labyrinth of error. Would mankind consider themselves as brethren, would they but reflect that the great intent of religion is to make them charitable neighbours to each other; that love and obedience are the most acceptable sacrifice to the Creator, and that the torments or destruction of his creatures, on any pretence whatsoever, must necessarily be displeasing in his sight: I say, would they but meditate seriously upon these things, it is likely they would become better men and better christians.—I could not help introducing a reflection, which I hope the reader will pardon, as it naturally occurred at this period of the history.—But to proceed. —

After the death of the sachem Massasoit, his two sons came to New Plymouth, where they were baptized by the names of Alexander and

Philip. The latter of these being suspected of some machinations against the English, and being by them taken prisoner, as he was a very haughty man, brooked his confinement so ill that he fell sick of a fever which put an end to his life. — His brother Philip, a prince of great spirit, renewed his alliance with the colonists, and even went so far as to oblige himself, by a written deed, not to alienate any of his lands without their consent and approbation; while they, on their parts, entered into a solemn league offensive and defensive with one who afterwards proved their bitterest enemy.

The Bartholomew act now taking place in England, by which all nonconformists were turned out of their livings, New England was filled with pastors and with theological disputes: — a most fatal delusion succeeded, which if it had not been timely put a stop to, might have ended in the destruction of almost the whole colony.

An unaccountable fancy possessed the pious puritans, that they were under the power of witches and evil spirits, which produced some of the strangest consequences ever heard of in history. It was at a town called Salem, in New England, that this delusion first began. One Paris was the minister there. He had two daughters troubled with convulsions; which being attended with some of those extraordinary appearances not unfrequent in such disorders, he imagined they were bewitched. As soon as he concluded upon witchcraft as the
cause

cause of the distemper, the next inquiry was, how to find out the person who had bewitched them: He cast his eyes upon an Indian servant woman of his own, whom he frequently beat, and used her with such severity that she at last confessed herself the witch, and was committed to goal, where she lay for a long time. The imaginations of the people were not yet sufficiently heated to make a very formal business of this; therefore they were content to discharge her from prison after a long confinement, and to sell her as a slave for her fees. However, as this example set the discourse about witchcraft on foot, some people, troubled with a similar complaint, began to think themselves bewitched too. Persons in an ill state of health are naturally fond of finding out causes for their distempers; especially such as are extraordinary, and call the eyes of the public upon them. There was perhaps something of malice in the affair besides; for one of the first objects whom they fixed upon was Mr. Burroughs, a gentleman who had formerly been minister of Salem: but, upon some of the religious disputes which divided the country, he differed with his flock and left them. This man was tried with two others for witchcraft, by a special commission of oyer and terminer, directed to some of the gentlemen of the best fortunes, and reputed to be of the best understandings in the country. Before these judges, a piece of evidence was delivered, the most weak and childish, the most repugnant to itself,

itself, and to common sense, that perhaps ever was known upon any serious occasion. Yet by those judges, upon that evidence, and the verdict founded upon it, this minister, a person of a most unexceptionable character, and two others, men irreproachable in their lives, were sentenced to die, and were accordingly executed. Then these victims of the popular madness were stripped naked, and their bodies thrown into a pit, half covered with earth, and left to the discretion of the birds and wild beasts.

Upon the same evidence, in a little time after, sixteen more suffered death; the greatest part of them dying in the most exemplary sentiments of piety, and with the strongest professions of their innocence. One man, refusing to plead, suffered in the cruel manner the law directs on that occasion, by a slow pressure to death. The most ordinary and innocent actions were metamorphosed into magical ceremonies, and the fury of the people augmented in proportion as this gloom of imagination increased. The flame spread with rage and rapidity into every part of the country. Neither the tenderness of youth, nor the infirmity of age, nor the honour of the sex, nor the sacredness of the ministry, nor the respectable condition of fortune or character, was the least protection. Children of eleven years old were taken up for sorceries. The women were stripped in the most shameful manner to search them for magical teats. The scorbutic stains common on the skins of old persons, were called

called the devil's pinches. This was indisputable evidence against them. As such they admitted every idle flying report, and even stories of ghosts, which they honoured with a name, not found in our ~~law~~ books: they called them Spectral Evidence. Some women owned they had been lain with by the devil, and other things equally ridiculous and abominable.

The wretches who suffered the torture, being not more pressed to own themselves guilty than to discover their associates and accomplices, unable to give any real account, named people at random, who were immediately taken up, and treated in the same cruel manner, upon this extorted evidence.

An universal terror and consternation seized upon all. Some prevented accusation, and charged themselves with witchcraft, and so escaped death; others fled the province; and many more were preparing to fly. The prisons were crowded; people were executed daily; yet the rage of the accusers was as fresh as ever, and the number of the witches and the bewitched increased every hour. A magistrate, who had committed forty persons for this crime, fatigued with so disagreeable an employment and ashamed of the share he had in it, refused to grant any more warrants. He was himself immediately accused of forcery; and thought himself happy in leaving his family and fortune, and escaping with life out of the province.

A jury,

A jury, struck with the affecting manner and the solemn assurances of innocence of a woman brought before them, ventured to acquit her; but the judges sent them out again; and in an imperious manner forced them to find the woman guilty; and she was executed immediately. The magistrates and ministers, whose prudence ought to have been employed in healing this distemper and assuaging its fury, threw in new combustible matter. They encouraged the accusers; they assisted at the examinations, and they extorted the confessions, of witches.

None signalized their zeal more upon this occasion than Sir William Phips, the governor, a New England man, of the lowest birth, and yet meaner education; who, having raised a sudden fortune by a lucky accident, was knighted, and afterwards made governor of the province. Doctor Increase Mather, and doctor Cotton Mather, the pillars of the New England church, were equally sanguine. Several of the most popular ministers, after twenty executions had been made, addressed Sir William Phips with thanks for what he had done, and with exhortations to proceed in so laudable a work. The accusers, encouraged in this manner, did not know where to stop, nor how to proceed. They were at a loss for objects. They began at last to accuse the judges themselves. What was worse, the nearest relations of Mr. Increase Mather were involved, and witchcraft began even to approach the

the governor's own family. It was now high time to give things another turn. The accusers were discouraged by authority. One hundred and fifty, who lay in prison, were discharged. Two hundred more were under accusation; they were passed over; and those who had received sentence of death were reprieved, and in due time pardoned. A few cool moments shewed them the gross and stupid error that had carried them away, and which was utterly invisible to them all the while they were engaged in this strange persecution. They grew heartily ashamed of what they had done. But what was infinitely mortifying, the quakers took occasion to attribute all this mischief to a judgement on them for their persecution. A general fast was appointed; the puritans praying God to pardon all the errors of his people in a late tragedy, ruffled amongst them by Satan and his instruments.

Such was the end of this extraordinary madness, which had so fatally possessed these people, and which was one of the strongest ebullitions of enthusiasm ever known among them. — As there are few things so bad as not to conduce to some general good; so it is likely this temporary lunacy contributed in a great measure to work off the ill humours of the New England people, and to bring them to a more free use of their reason. Many evils have their removal in their own extremes. This was the remedy which though squeezed from the very heart of fanaticism, was the best application

whereby to effect a cure on such as were tainted with its poison. It is certain, that whatever were the follies of the puritans, much of their bigotry was lost after this period, and expired with the witchcraft delusion.

The extraordinary scene was no sooner closed than the magistrates began to reflect that they had in reality no right to inflict any capital punishments. Upon this, John Winthrop, Esq. son to the late governor of Massachusetts, was employed by the colonists of Connecticut and Newhaven to solicit the charter for them which united them into one body corporate.

Upon the breaking out of the Dutch war, his majesty, who seemed still to have been uneasy about the constitution of New England, made a grant to the duke of York of all the lands possessed by the Dutch on both sides of Hudson's Bay, and a squadron of ships, with land forces, were sent to drive them away, under the command of Sir Robert Car, and colonel Nicholls. That service being performed, the two commanders, with other two commissioners, Cartwright and Maverick, were ordered to repair to New England, there to decide all controverted points amongst the colonists. Arriving there, they presented to the governor and council of New Plymouth a letter from his majesty, in which he promises to preserve all their liberties and privileges, both ecclesiastical and civil, without the least violation. "This," (continued his majesty)

"we

“ we presume will dispose you to manifest by all
“ the ways in your power, your loyalty, and affection
“ to us, that all the world may know that you
“ look upon yourselves as being as much our sub-
“ jects, and living under the same obedience to us,
“ as if you continued in your natural country.”
Though those expressions from a king of England
to one of his colonies were justifiable, yet the pre-
sence of the commissioners was not very acceptable
at New Plymouth.

Soon after this, upon some extraordinary, though
natural appearances in the air, the magistrates, who
seem to have been as much superstition-struck as
the lowest of their people, wrote circular letters to
the ministers and elders of every town to promote
the reformation of manners, as if some very dread-
ful event had been at hand. The only thing of
that kind, however, that happened was a renewal
of their own persecutions of the baptists and the
quakers, whom they now ruined by banishments,
fines, and imprisonments. This produced an in-
terposition from the heads of the presbyterian clergy
in England, for a mitigation of the sufferings of the
baptists, addressed to John Leverett, Esq. governor
of the Massachusetts. At the same time, the chief
of the London quakers obtained a like letter, sign-
ed by eleven of the most eminent dissenting divines,
in favour of their brethren; but all was to little or
no purpose. While the government of New Eng-
land was thus, out of zeal for christianity, exercis-

ing a most unchristian spirit, Philip, king of the Wampanoags, the same we have already mentioned, mindful of his brother's disgrace, was meditating a most severe revenge against the English, and conducted himself with as much policy and courage, as his namesake of Macedon could have done, had he been in the like circumstances. In the year 1673, there was no dispute in America between the courts of France and England; but it appears, at the same time, that this was owing to the tameness of the court of England, which was persuaded by the French to order its subjects to leave the fine settlements they had upon the banks of the river Kennebek, which they accordingly did, and retired to New England, which now far exceeded the French boasted colony at Quebec, in populousness, strength, riches, commerce, and every circumstance that could render the lives of the colonists secure and agreeable. The French, therefore, considered Boston as the Carthage that was, at any rate, to be demolished, and early entered into secret connexions with king Philip. He saw they were not then in a condition to assist him; and, though he was a complete master of dissimulation, the English at New Plymouth began to suspect his intentions, and ordered him to repair to Taunton. Philip obeyed, confirmed his former treaty with that government, and consented to pay a hundred pounds for damages done by himself and his subjects; and, to shew that he was a vassal
to

to the colony of New Plymouth, he agreed to send them every year, by way of tenure, five wolves heads.

If the colony demanded this, it was unjust, as they could have no such claim of superiority over a native and independent prince. If the submission was voluntary, yet it was impolitic in them to accept of it, as they must know that it was dissembled. Upon the whole, it appears but too plainly, that those colonists, now thinking themselves invincible, proceeded against Philip and his allies too haughtily, and unguardedly, and with too great a contempt of their power. Philip had a secretary, one Sansaman, but whether he was his natural-born subject, does not appear, though he probably was. He was the son of a converted Indian; but growing up, he returned to the religion of his forefathers, from which he apostatized, and again turning christian and a preacher, he was sent upon the Wampanoag mission. Having in his heathenish state been secretary to Philip, such an apostle could not be a very agreeable guest in his dominions; and, as he was travelling the country, he was murdered by some of Philip's counsellors, at which we ought to be the less surpris'd, as we are told that, during his mission, he held a correspondence with the English. The governor of New Plymouth, suspecting the truth, ordered the body to be taken out of its grave, and, the coroners inquest sitting upon it, they brought in their verdict "wilful murder," upon which

which one Tobias, one of Philip's counsellors, and his son, were upon the evidence of an Indian, and the ridiculous one of the body's bleeding at the touch of Tobias, tried by a jury, half English, half Indians, convicted, and executed.

About this time, some pirates ran away with a ship, after putting the master and some of his men on board the long boat; and both parties happened to meet at the very same time in the port of Boston; upon which the pirates were seized, tried, and the ringleaders executed.

King Philip's patience was, by this time, worn out, nor can we be surprized at it, considering the indignities he had suffered.—His first hostilities broke out near Mount Hope, where he plundered an English plantation; but, instead of giving satisfaction as usual, to the governor of New Plymouth, who demanded it, his Indians murdered three Englishmen in the fields by day, and six others in the town of Swansey by night. This was in the year 1675; and the governor of New Plymouth immediately demanded from the confederate colonies their stipulated assistances. The Plymouth forces lay at Swansey, under captain Cudworth, and the Massachusetts colony detached captain Prentice, with a troop of horse, captain Henschman, with a company of foot, and captain Mosely, with another of volunteers, to join him.—The Indians seldom or never could be brought to stand a pitched battle with the Europeans; and this junction being formed, they fled into

into the woods, upon which the English took possession of Mount Hope, and ravaged their country. They then compelled the Naragansets to renounce their alliance with king Philip, and to enter into articles to assist the English against him, and all their other enemies; and, by way of encouragement, they were promised two coats for every living, and one for every dead Wampanoag, and twenty good coats for Philip's head.

How far this reward for the life of a sovereign prince was agreeable to justice or the law of nations may be justly doubted, especially as it did not then judicially appear that he authorised the barbarities that had been committed by his subjects. In the mean while, captain Cudworth marched to prevent the Pocassets, another Indian tribe, from joining with Philip; but he found that they had already taken arms, and he was too weak to reduce them. — Philip knew perfectly well how to avail himself of the Indian manner of fighting, which was by ambuscades and surprises. The English officers, on the other hand, finding their enemies fled, scoured the country, with little or no precaution, and were often over-reached by the stratagems of the barbarians. The head quarters of the English were then at Taunton, from whence they broke up, upon advice that Philip was in a swamp, lying on a spot called Pocasset-Neck, between Rhode-Island and Monument-Bay, about eighteen miles distant from Taunton. Thither they march-

ed;

ed; but, after losing some men, they found themselves obliged to turn their attack into a blockade, which they formed with two hundred men, in hopes of starving out Philip, or obliging him to surrender.

This service was performed by the English with neither courage nor conduct; for Philip, in the mean time, crossed the river on a raft, and made his escape into the country of the Nipmucks; one hundred of his men, however, were made prisoners.—The Nipmucks were Indians, lying between Connecticut and New York, and had already made such devastations in Suffolk county, as had obliged the English to draw off great part of their troops from their expedition against Philip to suppress them.—At first, the English endeavoured to detach them, by a treaty, from Philip's interest; but they no sooner heard of that prince's arrival in their country, than they fired upon captain Hutchinson, one of the two officers sent to negotiate with them, killed some of his men, and obliging the rest to fly. Philip, who was by this time very strong, pursued them, and drove them, to the number of about seventy, into a house, where they must probably have been taken or burned, had they not been relieved by major Willard, another English officer, who, at the head of no more than fifty men, surprised the Indians in the night-time, killed eighty of them, and obliged Philip, in his turn, to retreat, which he did towards the Nipmuck country.

By

By this time, the Connecticut forces had taken the field under major Treat, who was directed to observe Philip's motions. A proof of that prince's great abilities, we will not say virtues, arises from his inspiring all the savages in those parts with a passion for recovering their native independancy and country. When the English demanded hostages from the savages on the borders of the Nipmuck country, instead of obeying, they were so attached to Philip, that they cut in pieces their own king for listening to the proposition, and marched to join Philip. They were pursued by the captains Lathrop and Beers, who killed twenty-six of them, with the loss of ten of their own men. The rest joined Philip. All the out-settlements of the colonists of New England were now ravaged by the natives, whom Philip had every where roused into arms; but the Connecticut colony suffered the most. The inhabitants of Deerfield, an inland town, after seeing their plantations destroyed and burned, shut themselves up in a slight fortification, where they defended themselves. Captain Beers was sent at the head of thirty-six men; but he was met by the savages, who put to the sword himself and ten of his soldiers, and obliged the rest to fly to Hadley. Major Treat, at the head of a larger detachment, had better fortune, for he brought off the besieged; but they were in danger of starving, having left their corn behind them.

Captain Lathrop, on the fifteenth of September, went, at the head of a large detachment, consisting almost of the whole force of Essex county, with carts to fetch it off; but he was surrounded by the Indians, and, endeavouring to fight them in their own manner, he himself and seventy of his men were shot dead, through the superior dexterity of the Indians in managing their fire-arms. This was the greatest loss of men the New England colonies had ever sustained at one time; nor was it repaired by captain Moseley, who, though he came too late to save his countrymen, killed above one hundred of the Indians, losing but two of his own men. Lathrop's defeat encouraged the savages upon Connecticut River to declare for Philip; and the hostages they had given for the preservation of the peace, had the address to make their escape. Springfield, a town lying on that river, was the first object of their fury. There they burned down thirty-two houses, and would have massacred all the inhabitants, had they not been put upon their guard by Toto, a faithful Indian, and retired into the strongest places of the town, which they defended till they were relieved by a detachment under captain Appleton. It is probable, however, that all Hampshire must have been destroyed, had not the government ordered the Connecticut forces to cover its frontiers, especially in the towns of Hadley, Northampton, and Hatfield; all of them lying upon, or near Connecticut River. This was
done

done with so much secrecy, that an army of eight hundred Indians fell upon Hatfield; but being repulsed with great loss, they retreated to the country of the Naragansets, whom the commissioners for the associated colonies voted to be enemies to the English, for sheltering them.

Though it was now far in the winter, the necessity of chastising the Naragansets was so great that Mr. Winslow, the governor of New Plymouth, put himself at the head of a hundred men, and, having for his guide one Peter, a Naraganset renegade, about the beginning of September, he carried fire and sword into their country, burned a hundred and fifty of their wigwams, and killed or took prisoners about a dozen of their inhabitants. But the operations of this winter campaign soon assumed a new face. The enemy still continued their ravages and murders, particularly about Petequamset; and Winslow understood from Peter, that the whole flower of the enemy's force was shut up in a fort, the most regular that had ever been raised by the Indians, built upon a kind of an island, accessible only by one way. Winslow, being joined by a hundred and fifty Mohegians, bravely resolved to lose no time, but instantly to attack this fort. The officers under him were the captains Mosely and Davenport, who led the van; Gardner and Johnson, who were in the centre; and major Appleton and captain Oliver, who brought up the rear of the Massachusetts forces: by

which it is probable that Winslow had been considerably re-inforced by the English. — He himself, as general, with his New Plymouth men, commanded in the centre, and major Treat, with the captains Gallop, Mason, Senly, and Willis, served with the Connecticut forces in the rear. All of them were under the direction of Peter, who conducted them through the swamp to a breach, but of what kind we are not informed, which was attacked and defended with equal obstinacy and resolution.

The fire of the savages was steady ; and no fewer than six brave English captains, Davenport, Gardner, Johnson, Gallop, Senly, and Marshall, were killed in the attack. The English soldiers, exasperated that so many of their gallant officers should fall by the hands of the barbarians, whom they were used to despise, at last carried their point. The enemy was beaten from post to post into a cedar swamp at some distance. Their fort was burned down ; the fortifications were levelled ; seven hundred of the savages, with arms in their hands, were put to the sword, amongst whom were twenty of their chief captains ; three hundred, besides, died of their wounds, and a great number of defenceless men, women, and children, who had taken refuge in the fort, believing it to be impregnable, perished, either by the sword or in the flames. The loss of the English, besides the six captains,

was

was eighty-five men killed, and a hundred and fifty men wounded.

Count de Frontenac, a haughty and suspicious man, being then governor of New France, and having a mortal antipathy to the English Americans, he openly and secretly supported the insurrection of the savages against the colonists. If we are to believe our New England historians, he, this winter, sent a detachment from Canada, who acted in concert with the barbarians, and threatened the very extinction of the Massachusetts colony.

They burned down the town of Mendham, and carried off all the live stock of the inhabitants ; whose farms were generally as well stocked as those in England. They plundered or burned the town of Lancaster, and carried forty-two persons into captivity. Marlborough, Sudbury, Chelmsford, and Medfield, where they killed twenty English, underwent the same fate ; and they spread their ravages within a few miles of the gates of Boston. — The successes of the barbarians seem to be owing to two causes. The first was, that the English colonists were so intent upon protecting their properties, that they split their strength into too many subdivisions ; while the French had taught the barbarians to march in a body, to move quickly from place to place, and to mind no other object, but the spreading around them as much desolation

desolation as possible. The second cause is assigned by Mr. Neal, who informs us, that the cold of this winter was so extremely intense, that the English durst hardly look out of their quarters. Notwithstanding those two reasons, something still seems to have been wanting on the part of the English, who, while pursuing their enemies, left their own country exposed, and, before the campaign opened, had not taken proper precautions to defend themselves. — In the spring of 1677, a party of seventy English and one hundred Indians, under captain Dennison, slew seventy-six of the hostile Indians, and a party of the Connecticut killed or made prisoners about forty-four. Canacchet, son of Miantonimo, the chief sachem of the Narragansets, was amongst the prisoners. He was accused by the English of having concluded a peace with them at Boston, six months before, and of having broken it as soon as he returned home. We are to observe, however, that his father, who was no friend to the English, was alive and possessed of the government. Be this as it will, the Indians delivered him into the hands of the Mohocks, and they cut off his head, out of hatred to his father. — Philip had commanded in the famous defence of the fort, and was one of those who had escaped to the swamp, from whence he went to the Maquas, one of the Mohock nations, to excite them to a war with the English. Finding that they were backward in answering his solicitations,

tations, he fell upon an expedient to induce them, which could be suggested only by a more than barbarous spirit of revenge; for, going into the woods, he murdered some of the Maquas with his own hands, and, returning in the utmost hurry, he informed the prince of that people, that the English had invaded his lands, and were then butchering his subjects. Unfortunately for Philip, one of the savages happened only to be severely wounded, and crawling home, he informed the sachem and his people of the truth, which turned against Philip all the rage they had conceived against the English; for their whole nation immediately declared for the colonists. Their alliance was, by giving a diversion to Philip, of infinite service to the English; for his Indians could now no longer march in large bodies; and though the inhabitants of Plymouth, Taunton, Chelmsford, Concord, Havenhill, Bradford, and Wooburn, were sometimes alarmed, they did not suffer much, from the small numbers of the savages who attacked them. Several, however, were killed, and some carried off; but two English boys, who made their escape, described a place towards the falls of Connecticut River, where a body of Indians were surprised by captain Turner, with one hundred and eighty men, who put a hundred of them to the sword, and drowned as many. He afterwards was killed in an ambush of the Indians, who had been driven from Bridgewater.

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In short, the fortune of the war was now entirely inclined towards the English, who had profited by their misfortunes, and, in a short time, cut off about six hundred of the savages. Famine co-operated with the arms of the colonists; for those thoughtless barbarians had been so intent upon revenge, that they had neglected their harvest; and two hundred of them threw themselves upon the mercy of the English at New Plymouth; — all of these were pardoned but three, who, being convicted of atrocious crimes, were hanged. Philip still kept the field; but, being at the head of no more than two hundred savages, he could do nothing effectually, and returned to his old retreat at Mount Hope, where his chief employment was to plan ambushes against the colonies. Major Bradford, with a party of English, happily escaped one of them; and, marching into the land of the Taconets, obliged the queen of that country, with her whole army, which consisted of ninety men, to receive the English yoke.

About the end of July, a sachem or segamore of the Nipmuck Indians, with one hundred and eighty of his men, submitted to the English, and delivered up Matoonas, the first savage, who, in that war, had appeared in arms against the English. We shall, once for all, observe, that the colonists seem to have acted, all this time, upon principles that self-preservation alone could justify. If those Indians were the subjects of England, it
was

was necessary for the colonists to have had legal powers from England for proceeding capitally against their fellow-subjects. If they were independent, it will perhaps be difficult to assign a reason why they should be put death, because, in the last case, they could only be prisoners of war. The colonists seem to have been somewhat apprised of their own doubtful situation; for, instead of putting Matoonas to death themselves, they ordered the Nipmuck segamore to shoot him, which he accordingly performed; but the son was pardoned. A great many other skirmishes, (all of them, in general to the advantage of the English) happened about this time; but they were of very little consequence.

As to Philip, all his arts could not keep up the spirits of his party when they met with ill success. One of his allies, the queen of Pocasset, as she is called, deserves particular mention. Being surprised by the English, she animated her men to hold out to the last; but they meanly deserted her, and, in endeavouring to escape upon a raft, she was drowned. Her body being found, the English, not knowing whose it was, cut off her head, and set it, with others, upon a pole at Taunton, where it was soon recognised by the Indians, and her obsequies were celebrated with howlings which testified the high esteem she was held in by her countrymen. Philip, notwithstanding all his misfortunes,

continued the undaunted and irreconcilable enemy of Englishmen, and went so far as even to cut to pieces with his own hands an Indian, who had dared to mention proposals for a peace. One of his friends and counsellors, who probably was of a pacific disposition likewise, taking warning by the fate of his fellow-subjects, fled to Rhode-Island; — there he discovered to the English where Philip was, and the means by which he might be surprised. Captain Church, upon this, went with a small party, and found him, with a few attendants, in a swamp, which, by the description, is a place surrounded by fordable stagnated waters. Philip endeavoured to escape, but was singled out by an Englishman and an Indian. The Englishman's piece missed fire, but that of the Indian laid him dead. His body, being taken up, was quartered, and his head was carried in triumph to New Plymouth, where his skull is to be seen at this day.

Thus ended what is very properly called the Philippic war; and it is observed, even by the New England historians, that the Indians to the eastward were an independant people, their country lying without the line of the charter of the Massachusetts. They continued the war, even after Philip's death, with some advantages, till the government of Boston interposed, and sent a body of men, who made four hundred Indians prisoners, two hundred of whom were sold for slaves, and the

the rest, excepting a few who had been made examples of for having been guilty of murders, were sent home, on promise of behaving better for the future. In the relation of this war, we have purposely omitted many little skirmishes, that have been described with great minuteness by the New England historians ; but they consist only of surprises of very small bodies. — After the death of king Philip, major Walderen was sent to make up matters with the sachem of Penobscot, in which he succeeded but indifferently ; and, after all, when a kind of general peace was concluded, the English were obliged to allow the Indians of the eastern parts a certain quantity of corn yearly, and to pay a small quit-rent for their lands which they possessed, or rather had usurped from them.

Though the war was extinguished in one part of New England, yet it still continued in another, where the natives resented the gross affronts and impositions of the settlers ; especially upon the borders of Hampshire. The savages had now heard that the English were not invincible : — while the war was raging in the west, they fell upon the plantations in the east, where they murdered all the English they met ; and the latter made severe reprisals. The government of Boston, though sufficiently employed in the war with king Philip, sent a body of men, under captain Hawthorn, to the relief of their eastern neighbours ; and they sur-
P 2
prised

uncommon strain of liberty, they deposed and sent him prisoner to Old England. Sir Edmund Andros, who is said to have been a poor knight of Guernsey, came over to be governor of New England just at the time the people had resumed their charter-government. It was likewise about the same time, that captain William Phipps, a New England man, made his fortune in a very extraordinary manner. Understanding that, about the year 1640, a large Spanish galleon had been lost near Port de la Plata, he obtained of Charles II. a small frigate of eighteen guns, and ninety-five men, with which he sailed to Hispaniola, and continued diving for her, but without any success, and was obliged to give up the enterprize : notwithstanding which the duke of Albermarle, son to the restorer duke, being in desperate circumstances, adopted the desperate undertaking of Phipps, who proposed to divide the contingent prize-money into a number of shares, each proportioned to the share of expence advanced by the adventurer. A ship of about two hundred tons was bought, with which Phipps set sail to the old spot of exploration ; but after various and tedious attempts by a canoe and a tender, on board of which were divers of all kinds, he was about to have given over the attempt again, when the wreck was discovered ; and so industriously did they work, that, in a few days, no less than thirty-two tons of silver was brought up, with an immense treasure in gold,

gold, pearls, diamonds, and other commodities. It is said, that the whole, when brought by Phipps to England, amounted to three hundred thousand pounds, of which ninety thousand came to the share of the duke of Albermarle; and twenty thousand to that of Phipps, who was knighted by king James II. — A long calm in the affairs of New England succeeded, and continued to the time of the revolution, when the Indians began to complain of the little attention that was paid to the treaty by which they were to have an allowance of corn. They complained, at the same time, of their being interrupted in their fishery upon Saco river; that their fields were trespassed upon by the English cattle; and that the government of Boston had given away their lands. The truth is, that the planters of New England, about this time, were a little too free with the natives, and also with the French. They took upon themselves to affix new boundaries to their jurisdiction, by which they seized a great deal of French property, particularly some belonging to one St. Casten. The French ambassador had procured an order from the English court, for restoring Casten's goods, and, particularly, a parcel of wine, which the colonists had arbitrarily seized; but no regard seems to have been paid to it. It is probable that the people of New England, by this time, began to suspect that king James's government would be but very short-lived; and they

they had conceived at once a contempt and an aversion for their governor Andros. Casteen was himself an almost naturalized Indian, having married the daughter of one of their sachems or segamores; and, therefore, in the bad humour the natives were, he had no great difficulty in persuading them to enter upon hostilities. They accordingly killed some English cattle, which they pretended to be trespassers upon their grounds; and one Blackman, a busy justice of the peace, took up about twenty of the offenders, and sent them under a strong guard to Falmouth. This produced reprisals on the part of the Indians, who seized some English, particularly the captains Rowden and Gendal; the former of whom died in their hands.

It would have been easy for the English, by making proper concessions, to have brought the Indians to reason; but the latter were dissuaded by the French, and killed several of the inhabitants of New Yarmouth, which obliged the others to take shelter in their fortifications. Andros was then at New York; but, upon his return to Boston, he disapproved of Blackman's conduct, and ordered all the Indian prisoners in the hands of the English to be released, without insisting upon any equivalent.

The savages considered this pusillanimous conduct, as proceeding from weakness, and captain Gendall, whom they had released, being sent with
a party

A party to New Yarmouth, was attacked by them; but most of his men, whom they had taken prisoners, were afterwards recovered. In the mean time, the Indians murdered two English families near Kennebek, and all the frontiers were filled with blood and devastations. Andros put himself at the head of one thousand men, and marched towards them in the very depth of winter, but without any success; and, in consequence, is accused by the New England historians, not only of neglecting the colony, but of persecuting those who stood up for its defence, and even of corresponding with the French in Canada, and of setting the Indians, who had been guilty of murder, at liberty. They say, that the government of New England, at this time, was in a most deplorable condition:—That the governor, with four or five strangers of his council, men of desperate fortunes, and bad, if any, principles, made what laws, and levied what taxes they pleased on the people:—That these, without an assembly, raised a penny in the pound on all estates in the country, and two-pence on all imported goods, besides twenty-pence per head, poll-money, and a large excise on wine, rum, and other liquors:—That several persons having, on an humble address, represented this proceeding as a grievance, were committed to the county-jail for a high misdemeanor, denied the benefit of the Habeas Corpus act, tried out of their own county; fined exorbitantly, and obliged to pay

one hundred and sixty pounds for fees, when the prosecution would hardly have cost them so many shillings in Great Britain;—and that, to complete the oppression, when, on their trial, they claimed the privileges of Englishmen, they were scoffingly told, “These things would not follow them to the ends of the earth.”—Such were the complaints exhibited against this gentleman, for whom the New Englanders seemed to have entertained a most inveterate hatred. — Sir William Phipps was then in England, and being a kind of favourite with king James, he took the liberty to remonstrate against the behaviour of Andros and his counsellors, and to solicit the king to restore his countrymen to their charter-government, but in vain. King James, however, created a new kind of post for Sir William; for he made him, by patent, sheriff of New England, which gave much umbrage to the governor and his friends.

At last, Mr. Increase Mather, rector of the college at Cambridge, with two other gentlemen, were sent over to England, to complain of Sir Edmond Andros to the king and council. The revolution was then in agitation; and news arriving at New England of the prince of Orange’s landing, Andros not only imprisoned the bearer, but published a proclamation for preventing any one commissioned by the prince from landing in the province. Those violences introduced a fancy that Andros and his favourites intended to massacre the inhabitants; and
it

it was artfully kept up, to give the people an opportunity of confederating together. On the 18th of April, 1689, proper dispositions being previously made, a report was spread at the north end of the town that the south end was in arms, and the like was spread of the north, in the south end. This report effected the thing; the governor's people, wherever they were found, were secured and thrown into jail. The principal inhabitants took possession of the council-house, and the governor shutting himself up in the castle, to draw him from thence, they sent him the following letter.

“ Sir,

“ Ourselves and many others, the inhabitants of
 “ this town, and the places adjacent, being sur-
 “ prised with the people's sudden taking of arms,
 “ of the first motion whereof we were wholly ig-
 “ norant; being driven by the present accident, are
 “ necessitated to acquaint your excellency, that, for
 “ the quieting and securing the people inhabit-
 “ ing in this country from the imminent danger
 “ they many ways lie open and exposed to, and
 “ tendering your own safety; we judge it neces-
 “ sary, that you forthwith surrender and deliver
 “ up the government and fortifications, to be pre-
 “ served and disposed of, according to order and
 “ direction from the crown of England, which
 “ suddenly are expected to arrive; promising all
 “ security from violence to yourself, or any of
 “ your gentlemen, or soldiers, in persons or ef-

Q 2

“ rate:

“tate: otherwise we are assured they will endeavour the taking the fortification by storm, if any opposition be made.

“White Winthrop, Simon Bradstreet, William Stoughton, Samuel Shrimpton, Bartholomew Gidney, William Browne, Thomas Danfurth, John Richards, Elisha Cook, Isaac Addington, John Nelson, Adam Winthrop, Peter Sergeant, John Foster, David Waterhouse.”

This letter was a sufficient intimation that the writers of it, were resolved to carry their point. Andros at first stood upon his defence, and sent for arms to a king's frigate then lying in the port. But they were intercepted by a party of the townsmen under John Nelson, Esq. who demanded the surrender of the fort; and the governor, finding he had no farther means of resistance, gave it up. These men then repaired to the council-chamber, from whence they read a long and laboured declaration of their grievances to the people, about three thousand of whom were in arms. They summoned a general assembly, consisting of the representatives of the united colonies; and, on the 24th of May, by their own authority, they resumed their charter-government*, which pro-

* In the year 1683, Charles II. having, by a message to the general assembly of Massachusetts Bay, desired, that, in consideration of several complaints entered against them, they would surrender
ceding

ceeding of theirs was approved of by king William and queen Mary, who confirmed the restored magistrates in their power.—This was no wonder, considering on what principles their majesties ascended the throne.—Sir William Phipps was in England at the time of the revolution; and king

their charter to the king's pleasure; this, by a vote of general assembly was refused. Thereupon, in consequence of a *quo warranto*, and *scire facias*, 1684, in chancery, in Trinity-term, judgement was entered against their charter, and it was vacated; the colony's agents or attornies not appearing. Robert Humphrey, Esq. agent for Massachusetts Bay colony, in his letter to the governor and council, dated Inner-Temple, May 2, 1685, and read in the general assembly, July 8th following, writes, "The breaches assigned against you, are as obvious as unanswerable; so that all the service your council and friends could have done you here, would have only served to deplore, not to prevent, that inevitable loss. I sent you the lord-keeper's order of June 15, 1684, requiring your appearing on the first day of Michaelmas-term, else judgement entered against your charter was to stand. When this first day came, your letters of attorney neither were, nor indeed could be, returned; accordingly, I applied to the chancery for farther time:—where judgment passes by default, there may be a rehearing.—Instead of sending letters of attorney, the colony sent only an address to the king, without the colony-seal, or any subscription *per order*; therefore it was not presented. I herewith send you a copy of the judgement against your charter. Colonel Kirk was fixed upon, by Charles II, to be your governor; and James II, is said to have renewed his patent for your government."—This affair, however, was neglected, and the New England colonies continued for some time in the enjoyment of their charter privileges.

James

James offered him the government of New England: but he is said to have declined it. The revolution, at this time, taking place, an open war ensued between the French and English in America, as well as in Europe. The French, who had been at great pains to win over the natives, now endeavoured to persuade them that the English, being rebels, were abandoned by God and man; and promised to support them with all the power of the Quebec colony.

A new charter was granted to the colonists, bearing date the seventh of October 1691, which, after reciting the former grant, was thus continued: “Whereas the said governor and company of Massachusetts Bay in New England, by virtue of the said letters patent, are become very populous and well settled; and whereas the said charter was vacated by a judgement in Chancery, in Trinity-term, in the year 1684; the agents of that colony have petitioned to be re-incorporated by a new charter; and also to the end that our colony of New Plymouth, in New England, may be brought under such a form of government, as may put them in a better condition of defence: We do, by these presents, incorporate into one real province, by the name of the province of Massachusetts Bay in New England; viz. the former colony of Massachusetts Bay, the colony of New Plymouth, the province of Main, the territory of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, and the track
“lying

“ lying between Nova Scotia and the province of
“ Main, the north half of the isles of shoals, the
“ isles of Capawock, and Nantucket, near Cape
“ Cod, and all islands within ten leagues directly
“ opposite to the main-land within the said bounds.
“ To our subjects, inhabitants of the said lands and
“ their successors, quit-rents, a fifth part of all
“ gold, and silver, and precious stones, that may be
“ found there: Confirming all lands, hereditaments,
“ &c. formerly granted by any general court to
“ persons, bodies corporate, towns, villages, col-
“ leges, or schools; saving the claims of Samuel
“ Allen, under John Mason, and any other claim.
“ Former grants and conveyances not to be pre-
“ judiced for want of form. The governor, lieu-
“ tenant governor, and secretary, to be in the king’s
“ nomination; twenty-eight counsellors, whereof
“ seven at least shall make a board. A general court
“ or assembly, to be convened the last Wednesday in
“ May yearly; consisting of the governor, council,
“ and representatives of the towns or places, not
“ exceeding two for one place; qualification for
“ an elector forty shillings freehold, or fifty pounds
“ sterling personal estate. The general assembly to
“ elect twenty-eight counsellors, eighteen of them
“ from the old colony of Massachusetts Bay, four
“ from Plymouth late colony, three from the pro-
“ vince of Main, one for the territory of Sagada-
“ hock, and two at large. The governor, with
“ consent of the council, to appoint the officers in
“ the

" the courts of justice. All born in the province,
" or in the passage to and from it, to be deemed
" natural born subjects of England. Liberty of
" conscience to all christians, except papists. The
" general assembly to constitute judicatories for all
" causes, criminal or civil, capital or not capital.
" Probate of wills, and granting of administrations,
" to be in the governor and council. In personal
" actions, exceeding the value of three hundred
" pounds sterling, an appeal lies to the king in coun-
" cil, if the appeal be made in fourteen days after
" judgement; but execution not to be staid. The
" general assembly to make laws, if not repugnant
" to the laws of England; to appoint all civil of-
" ficers, excepting the officers of the courts of jus-
" tice; to impose taxes to be disposed by the go-
" vernor and council. The conversion of the In-
" dians to be endeavoured. The governor to have
" a negative in all acts and elections. All acts
" of assembly to be sent home by the first oppor-
" tunity to the king in council for approbation;
" if not disallowed in three years after their being
" presented, shall continue in force until repealed
" by the assembly. The general assembly may
" grant any lands in the late Massachusetts Bay and
" Plymouth colonies, and in the province of
" Main; but no grant of lands from Sagadahock
" River to St. Laurence River shall be valid, with-
" out the royal approbation. The governor to
" command the militia, to use the law martial in
" time

“ time of actual war, to erect forts and demolish
“ the same at pleasure. No persons to be trans-
“ ported out of the province, without their own
“ consent, or that of the general assembly. The
“ law martial not to be executed without consent
“ of the council. When there is no governor, the
“ lieutenant-governor is to act; when both are
“ wanting, the majority of the council to have the
“ power. The admiralty jurisdiction is reserved
“ to the king, or lords of the admiralty. No sub-
“ ject of England to be debarred from fishing on
“ the sea-coast, creeks, or salt-water rivers, and they
“ may erect lodges and stages in any lands not in
“ possession of particular proprietors. All trees fit
“ for masts, of twenty-four inches diameter and
“ upwards, twelve inches from the ground, grow-
“ ing upon land not heretofore granted to any pri-
“ vate persons, are reserved to the crown;—penalty
“ for cutting any such reserved trees a hundred
“ pounds sterling for each tree.”

Major Walderen then commanded in Quacheco,
a frontier fort of great importance. He had enter-
tained Mesandonit, a sachem, and had given him
leave to lodge in the fort; but the barbarian, in the
morning, unbarred the gates, and admitted a party
of the Indians, who had lain in ambush at a little
distance, and who, rushing in, killed the major, and
about twenty-two men, burned several houses, and
led off twenty-nine English prisoners, besides com-
mitting other acts of murder and violence. Cap-

tain Noyes was ordered to march with a party to Penecook; but the savages had retired from those quarters before he could come up to them. He had, however, the satisfaction of laying waste their country, and destroying their wigwams. The savages afterwards surprised Pemmaquid fort, and killed fourteen Englishmen; they likewise broke the capitulation upon which the fort surrendered, by butchering the garrison, and some troops who were advancing to its relief; upon which the inhabitants of Sheepscot and Kennebek retired to Falmouth. In the time of the last Indian war, the New England men were fully convinced of their error in acting by small detachments; and now, seeing that the French were aiming at the absolute ruin of their colony, they raised a thousand men, five hundred of whom were sent from the Massachusetts, under major Swayne, and five hundred, under major Church, from New Plymouth; but, by this time, the French had taught the barbarians their own arts, particularly those of gaining intelligence by means of corruption. They had everywhere their spies, who informed them of the motions of the English, many of whom were thereby cut off; and the savages were so well instructed in all the arts of treachery, that they behaved towards the English with a brutality even foreign to their nature, barbarous as it was. Particular mention is made of the bravery of two English boys, who defended a fort that was surprised by the Indians, and, though

though reduced to the last extremity, refused to surrender it, till they obtained a capitulation, which was infamously broken by the enemy, who murdered three or four children and one of the boys, whilst the other made his escape. The majors Swayne and Church were, by the practice of the French, who had found means to corrupt even the English Indians, disappointed in all their designs; so that the former, after garrisoning Blue Point, was obliged to retire into winter quarters, without effecting any thing farther worthy of notice.

The English government was fully sensible of the French practices, and resolved to strike at the root of the evil, by attacking, at one time, both Quebec and Acadia, [or New Scotland] then in the possession of the French. Of the expedition against Quebec, I shall take notice in its proper place. — The command of that intended against Acadia was given to Sir William Phipps. It consisted of a frigate mounting forty cannons, another ship of sixteen, and a third of eight. Sir William immediately bore down upon Port Royal, where, the garrison consisted of no more than eighty-six men, with eighteen unmounted cannons, and the works not tenable. On the 22d of May, 1690, the English armament appeared before the place; and Mannedu, the French governor, sent a priest to know Sir William's demand, which was, that the governor should surrender at discretion. This was

Black Point, and Blue Point, were thrown into such consternation by the destruction of Casco, that they fled as far as Saco, which garrison likewise abandoned its posts, and Hoopwood, the Huron, pursuing them, destroyed all the open country round, and murdered all the inhabitants, who fell into his hands. The captains Floyd and Greenleaf at last came up with him, routed his party, and wounded himself. He was afterwards killed by the French, who mistook him for an Iroquois. The French and Indians, after this, had the advantage in many encounters, which, though of too little consideration to be separately particularised, yet formed, upon the whole, a very considerable loss both of men and property.

The only expedition worth notice, was that undertaken by major Church, with three hundred men, to Casco Bay, where he burnt some French and Indian forts, and released a few English captives. The war afterwards continued with various success, but by no means to the advantage of the English; and, at last, a cessation of arms, till May 1691, was agreed on both sides.

Sir William Phipps, all this time, was busied at the court of England in soliciting to be put at the head of a new expedition to Quebec: but the terrible war, in which the king was engaged, and the bad success of his late attempt, rendered all his endeavours fruitless. Sir Henry Ashurst and Mr. Increase Mather were at the same time in England,

land, as agents for the people of New England, soliciting the restoration of their old charter. But neither king William nor his ministers were of dispositions to encourage any motion that tended towards the independancy of the colony upon the prerogative; and the renewal was in effect refused. They then contented themselves with petitioning for a new charter with more ample privileges. They obtained, indeed, a new charter; but their privileges, even under the late one, were abridged or rather annihilated. By king William's charter, the crown has the nomination of the governor, lieutenant-governor, secretary, and the officers of the admiralty, (all which was before in the people) and the power of the militia was vested in the governor. All judges, justices, and sheriffs, were appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of his majesty's council; and he likewise was to have a negative upon all laws, and public acts of the general assembly and council. Lastly, all laws, when approved of by the governor, were to be transmitted to England, and to be void, if disallowed of, in the space of three years; — all which has been shewn at large already. — In short, all the favour the New England people obtained, was the power of electing their first governor; and their choice fell upon Sir William Phipps. Scarcely was this important affair settled, when hostilities were recommenced by the Indians near Berwick, Exeter, and Cape Nidduck. Upon this, some officers, with four hundred men, marched to

to Pechypso; but, not observing discipline, they were attacked by the savages, and driven, with some loss, to their ships. This was followed by barbarities and murders in many other places; and the Massachusetts itself was attacked from the eastward, which it never had been before. This filled the colony with alarms; and the fort of Cape Nidduck, one of the strongest in those parts, was abandoned by its garrison, which had been greatly thinned by draughts.

The French savages were now likewise in motion, and attacked the town of York, where they killed fifty of the inhabitants, and carried a hundred into captivity. The government, upon this, sent parties under different officers to redeem the prisoners; but they found that French officers headed the Indians; that French soldiers were intermingled with them; that no fewer than five hundred Hurons were in the field, and that four or five Indian chiefs with their troops were confederated against them. An English captain, one Convers, is mentioned on this occasion with great honour, for having maintained a post with no more than fifteen or twenty men, and beating off two hundred of the barbarians, headed by Moxus, one of their chiefs. Convers, after this, took the command of the English, and beat the French and savages from Sagadahock, the French commandant La Brosse, being killed in the action.

It

It was remarked, that during this expedition, the barbarians charged the New England men with these English words, in their mouths, "Fire and fall on, brave boys!" a proof of their great intercourse with the English, though the French missionaries had the address to detach them from their interest. — Sir William Phipps was now arrived in New England with the colony's new charter, which gave great dissatisfaction to many. After confirming the laws enacted by the assembly; he declared his resolution of marching against the Indians in person. No man could be better qualified than he was for such an undertaking, being a native of that part of the country where the chief seat of war lay, near Kennebek River, and well acquainted with every spot and lurking-place about it. He immediately marched eastward with four hundred and fifty men; and gave orders for building a fort at Pemmaquid. Accordingly, one of the strongest and largest in all North America was erected there. The charge of building it, however, was so great, that it is said to have alienated the affections of the New England colony from Sir William ever afterwards. But this could be only the effect of private resentment on account of their charter; for it is certain, that both that fort and the others which he constructed, were of great use to the eastern parts of the colony, and this governor likewise performed many services in his own person against the savages, who

were become more unruly than ever. — Being still spirited up by the French, they had been guilty of many murders, towards the north of the rivers Merimack, Oyfter, and Connecticut. The governor gave Convers, now a major, the command of the eastern garrisons, and sent three hundred and fifty men to reinforce him ; with which assistance he was enabled to invade the Indian country, and to destroy all their lands and habitations about Taconet. Near Connecticut River the Indians, who were there in arms, were attacked by the English, who gave them a total defeat, and retook the captives they were carrying off ; while Sir William, the better to bridle them, built another fort at Saco. All those dispositions, with the fear of bringing a Mohock war upon their hands, inclined the barbarians to a peace. The French agent, or, as he is called, ambassador, (who, as usual, was a priest) at the courts of their sachems, did all he could to persuade them to continue the war, and, probably, he might have been successful, had the French in Canada been in a condition to have sent them the arms and assistance they had promised. But that not being the case, the barbarians actually begged for a peace ; and a congress was held at Pemmaquid fort, since called fort William Henry, between three English commissioners, and thirteen Indian sachems with proper interpreters. This meeting was very formal and important, and, by the articles then concluded

cluded, the Indians acknowledged themselves subject to the crown of England; confirmed them in possession of their lands, renounced their alliance with the French, and submitted their commerce between themselves and the English to the general assembly.

The witchcraft delusion of which we have already spoken, had spread itself abroad during Sir William's government, though we chose to place the account of it in a manner, which rather anticipated the history, that it might not break in on our narration of the public affairs of the province. — It is likely however, that the above-mentioned persecution happening under his administration, did the knight no great honour, but co-operated with many greater causes to render him disagreeable to the people. Whilst articles of complaint were exhibiting against this gentleman, he died of a malignant fever in London *, and was succeeded in

* “Sir William Phipps (says Douglas) was the son of a blacksmith, born in 1650, at a plantation on the river Quenebec, after keeping sheep some years, he was bound apprentice to a ship-carpenter for four years; he afterwards went to Boston, learned to read and write, followed the carpenter's trade, and married the widow of Mr. John Hull, merchant. Upon advice of a Spanish wreck about the Bahamas, he took a voyage thither, but without success. In 1683, in a king's frigate, the Algier Rose, he was fitted out upon the discovery of another Spanish wreck, near Port de la Plata upon Hispaniola, but returned to England unsuccessful. Soon after 1687, he prevailed with the duke of Albemarle, at that time governor of Jamaica, and some other

his office by William Stoughton, Esq. who did not find the affairs of his government in the best order imaginable. The Canadians were become very powerful and very troublesome. It was the policy of the French nation to win the Indians

persons of quality, to fit him out with a royal patent or commission to fish upon the Spanish wreck which had been lost about fifty years since. By good luck, in about seven or eight fathom water, he fished the value of near three hundred thousand pounds sterling (the Bermudians found good gleanings there after his departure) whereof he had about sixteen thousand pounds sterling for his share, and the honour of knighthood; and obtained of king James II. by purchase, to be constituted high sheriff of New-England, but was never in the execution of this patent, and returned to England, 1688, (N. B. he had not received baptism until March 1690, *Æt.* 40.) and soon after came back to New England. Upon the breaking out of the Indian war, in 1688, he solicited an expedition against Nova Scotia, May 1690, and had good success against the French; but his subsequent expedition in autumn, against Canada, the same year, was disastrous, and came to nothing; and, in the words of Mr. Mather, "Though used to diving for plate, this was an affair too deep for him to dive into." Amongst other bad consequences of this ill-contrived and worse managed Canada expedition, was the introducing of a pernicious, fraudulent paper-currency, or bills of public credit, to pay the charges or debt incurred. The operation of this injurious currency is such, that all personal estates (specialties excepted) are reduced to one for eight, reckoning by heavy pieces of eight (or seven-eighths of an ounce of silver) at six shillings; the loss of men was of very bad consequence to an infant colony, which was not by the enemy, but by a camp fever, the small-pox, and disasters in returning home; notwithstanding, as Dr. Mather expresses it, "the wheel of prayer for them in
over

over to their religion, and then to stir them up against their neighbours. These were supplied with money and arms from Old France, and a grand expedition was planned against the New England settlements. The sea armament for which was put under the command of the chevalier Nefmond, who was to be joined by one thousand five hundred French from Canada.

The count Frontenac, was at that time governor-general of New France; he was a politic man, and did every thing in his power to excite the savage nations to break their treaties, and to rise for the utter extirpation of the English colonies. Twelve months were not expired, after the conclusion of the treaty at Pemmaquid, before the French invaded the town of Oyster-River, from whence they carried off a hundred prisoners. They afterwards murdered one Mrs. Cutts and her family, and falling upon the open country, committed many cruel-

"New England was kept constantly going round." Soon after his return to Boston he went for London, to petition the court of England (notwithstanding former disasters, and his own incapacity to manage the affair) to encourage another expedition against Canada. Upon obtaining a new charter, dated October 7, 1691, at the desire of the New England agents, Sir William Phipps was appointed governor of the province of Massachusetts Bay and territories thereto belonging; he arrived with the new charter, May 14, 1692; and, June 8, the assembly under the new charter, met for the first time. Being ordered home, he died at London, as we have above related, on the eighteenth day of February, 1693."

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ries and devastations; which, though often repulsed, they as often repeated. At last Bomaseen, one of the principal Indian sachems in their interest, was made prisoner and sent to Boston. This event occasioned the tribes to cease hostilities for some time, and enter into treaties for the release of their English captives; but neither party being much in earnest about the matter, the negotiation was dropped, and the war renewed with greater fury than ever.

The Indians improved daily in the art of war, and now, for the first time, were seen on horseback at Billericay. The French had by this time resolved upon taking Pemmaquid fort from the English. Iberville and Bonaventure, two of their best officers, were pitched upon to command the expedition planned out for this purpose. They had orders to raise the fort as soon as it should be taken, and then proceed to the destruction of the English in other parts of their settlements. One Chub was the governor of this devoted fortification, who had behaved very treacherously to some of the Abenauais Indians, two of whom he shot dead while he was treating with them; an action which was returned on the side of the savages, with their usual acts of fury and inhumanity. — The two French commanders at this juncture arrived before Pemmaquid, Iberville first having taken the Newport, an English man of war of twenty-four guns.

Before

Before any firing began, the French summoned Chub to surrender the place, and he answered with great shew of resolution, that he was determined to hold it out to the last, though the French should cover the sea with their ships, and the land with their Indians. Upon this a smart firing began on both sides, and Iberville coming on shore, raised a battery, from whence he played with five bombs. This daunted Chub and his garrison, especially as they were informed by the French, that, if the place were taken by storm, they would be left to the mercy of the savages. A capitulation was then begun; and it was agreed, that the English should be sent with all their goods and effects to Boston to be exchanged for an equal number of French and savages; and that, in the mean while, they should be protected from the fury of the Indians. The French say, that Chub was forced by his garrison, which consisted of no more than ninety-two men, (the English say two hundred) to accept of this capitulation. When the enemy entered the fort, they there found one of the natives in irons, and ready to expire under the severities he had suffered in his confinement. The sight of this captive put the Indians into such a fury, that the French said, it was with great difficulty they could prevent the savages from falling upon the garrison. It is generally admitted, that this fort might have held out a long time, had it been garrisoned by brave men, they having fifteen cannon, and plenty

plenty of ammunition and provisions. The capitulation met with some difficulties in the execution of it. The French commandant sent indeed a few of the garrison to Boston ; but he demanded, at the same time, that all the French and Indian prisoners in New England should be set at liberty, in exchange for the remainder of the garrison, and the crew of the Newport, which amounted to above one hundred men ; and, in the mean time, he demolished the fortifications of Pemmaquid. Before he received an answer, he departed to execute the rest of his commission ; but, perceiving that he was falling short of provisions, he sent all the English prisoners to Boston, except the officers.—Such is the policy of Frenchmen, and such the regard they generally pay to treaties ; namely to keep them just as far as they are convenient.

This loss threw a great damp upon the spirits of the New England men. The governor, when it was too late, sent three ships in pursuit of the French squadron. Colonel Gedney also marched with five hundred men to scour the country, which however was deserted by the French and their Indians. Chub was carried prisoner to Boston, and deprived of his commission.—Either he was not deemed guilty of the fault charged upon him by some, of delivering up a place he might have preserved, or else the government of the province did not, at that time, think proper to be severe in their punishments.—The Indians now began to despise the English. They
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fell upon the people of Haverhill, in Essex-county, and took several prisoners. There was among those whom they attacked, a woman of amazing strength and courage, whose name was Hannah Dunster. She had been but a few days brought to bed, but, perceiving herself on the point of being a victim to the cruelty and brutalities of the savages, she, together with her nurse and an English boy, killed ten of the Indians, and escaped to Boston, where all three were handsomely rewarded.

The French still planning the total destruction of our colonies were busily employed in fitting out an expedition, the miscarriage of which, we shall have occasion to speak of more at large hereafter. The rumour of the preparation once more roused the spirits of the New England men: — Major March being dispatched to the eastward, drove the savages from Casco Bay, and repeated his check so effectually, that he dispirited the Indians, and prevented, in all probability, their intent of joining the French, who afterwards returned disappointed to their own country.

King William now bestowed the government of New England (with which that of New York was also joined) on the earl of Bellamont, a peer of Ireland. As to Stoughton, who, as it seems, had never obtained a formal commission for himself, he acted as deputy-governor, during two years that his lordship remained in England.

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About this time, complaints being made of the piracies of the people of New England, one captain Kidd, was sent with a ship fitted out as a privateer, to suppress them; but meeting with indifferent success in his undertaking, he turned pirate himself, and bore away for the East Indies, where he committed many depredations on the subjects of the Great Mogol.

The Indians continued to massacre the English settlers; colonel Bradstreet, and captain Chub, of whom we have already spoken, were murdered by them; but they were repulsed from Deerfield on Connecticut River, by one Williams, the minister, at the head of the inhabitants. The treaty of Ryswick at last restored peace for some time to the country; and count Frontenac gave the savages in the French interest to understand, that they must make the best terms they could with the English for themselves, as he had no longer orders to assist them. — A negotiation ensued for the restitution of prisoners, between the count and earl of Bellamont, which met with many difficulties; and the former died soon after, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. — He was a very politic man, and had done great services to his countrymen's interests in America. — A congress was still held at Penobscot, between the English commissioners and the sachems of the Indian nations, with whom a treaty was at length concluded, and

who besides, subscribed the following instrument of submission to the crown of England :

“ Whereas, notwithstanding our late submission and agreement, certain Indian through the evil counsel and instigation of the French, have perpetrated sundry hostilities against his majesty’s subjects the English, and have not delivered and returned him the several English in their hands, as in the said submission they covenanted.

“ Wherefore we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, segamores, captains, and principal men of the Indians, belonging to the rivers of Kennebeck, Ammonoscoggin, Saco, and parts adjacent, being sensible of our great offence and folly, in not complying with the aforesaid submission and agreement, and also of the sufferings and mischiefs that we have hereby exposed ourselves unto, do in all humble and submissive manner cast ourselves upon his majesty’s mercy, for the pardon of all our rebellions and violations of our promises, praying to be received into his majesty’s grace and protection ; and for and in behalf of ourselves, and of all the other Indians belonging to the several rivers and places aforesaid, within the sovereignty of his majesty of Great Britain, do again acknowledge and profess an hearty and sincere obedience to the crown of England, and do solemnly renew, ratify and confirm, all and every the articles and

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“agreements contained in the aforesaid recited
“submission: and in testimony hereof, we, the
“said segamores, captains and principal men,
“have hereunto set our hands and seals, at Casco
“Bay, near Mares Point, the seventh day of Ja-
“nuary, in the tenth year of his majesty king
“William the third, in the year 1698.”

Subscribed by Moxus, and the rest of the
segamores present.

· In the presence of James Convers, Cyprian
Southack, John Gyles, interpreter, Scodook,
alias Sampson.

The earl of Bellamont coming to Boston in
1699, convened a general assembly there, though
he fixed his residence at New York. He was al-
lowed a salary of one thousand pounds a year, and
a present of five hundred pounds, and seems to
have been a very proper person for the govern-
ment to which he was appointed. He seized Kidd
at Boston, and sent him over to England, where he
was tried and executed. — This nobleman died
soon after, on his return to New York, and
Stoughton for a while resumed the government.
An interval of tranquillity now succeeded, which
was only interrupted by a dreadful fire, that did
much damage as might deservedly occasion it to
be reckoned a public calamity; and the succeeding

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war the colonists were in a good condition of defence.

In June, 1702, Joseph Dudley, Esq. arrived with a commission, to take upon him the government of New England. The ministry at home had now planned out a scheme for the conquest of Quebec; this design was for a time laid aside, but was revived again at the instances of colonel Nicholson, who had recovered Nova Scotia for his countrymen, and went over to England, carrying with him some Indian chiefs. The ministry were prevailed on to send five regiments of foot, and a battalion of marines, the latter under the command of colonel Charles Churchill, on this expedition, and the Edgar, Monmouth, Devonshire, Humber, Swiftsure, Kingston, Sunderland, Montague, and Dunkirk, sailed from England with them. This force was to be joined by an additional number of troops and ships when it arrived in New England, which was the first place of its destination. It does not, however, appear, that the people of New England had received any instructions for that purpose; or if they did, they seemed to have neglected them. The armament sailed from Plymouth on the fourth of May, and arrived at Boston the fourth of June 1711. So little was it expected, that upon its first appearance, a troop of guards, and a regiment of foot that were in the town, put themselves under arms, and the inhabitants made the proper dispositions for repelling an

an enemy, but were soon undeceived. The general and the admiral had at first no thoughts of landing their men here ; but coming on shore, after some conference with the inhabitants, found that they themselves were not in the secret of the ministry. The latter had often brought severe charges against the whigs for entering on designs not laid before parliament, and for which no supplies had been given, and the parliament had a little before declared, that to enlarge the service, or increase the charge beyond the bounds prescribed, and the supplies granted, was illegal, and an invasion of their rights. This perhaps filled the patrons of this expedition with apprehensions, and they had nothing to trust to but success for being indemnified. Looking upon secrecy as being one of the great means of success, they had either concealed their design from the New England men, or explained it so imperfectly, that when the admiral and general came on shore they were amazed to find that no provisions were in furtherance for their proceeding on the expedition ; so that, all their own provisions being spent, notwithstanding the shortness of the passage, the men were landed out of the ships, and encamped on Noddies island near Boston, where colonel Nicholson likewise was. This delay, probably, was the ruin of the expedition ; but it is owned on all hands, that the New England men seeing the good appearance the troops and ships made, and perceiving

ceiving the officers to be thoroughly in earnest, expedited the raising their quota of men, and got ready the provisions demanded of them in a shorter time than could have been well expected; yet it was the twentieth of July, before the British troops re-embarked, and they were joined by two fine regiments of one thousand New England and New York men, under the colonels Walton and Vetch. The whole fleet then consisted of twelve men of war, and six store-ships, with all kinds of warlike stores, besides fire-ships, bomb-ketches, tenders, and transports, with forty horse on board for drawing a fine train of artillery. It was the thirtieth of July before the fleet sailed for the river St. Lawrence. At the same time colonel Nicholson set out from Boston for New York, from whence he proceeded to Albany, where the forces of New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey, about one thousand Palatines, and about as many Indians of the Five Nations, under the Casiques who had been in England, rendezvoused, to the number of about four thousand men, commanded by colonel Ingoldsbey, colonel Schuyler, and colonel Whiting, who marched towards Canada on the twenty-eighth of August.

The English fleet proceeding, arrived off Gaspe Bay, near the entrance of the river Canada, on the eighteenth of August, where the wind blowing hard from the north-west, they anchored, lest the transports should be separated and driven to leeward.

ward. Here they burned a French fishing vessel, and on the twentieth of the same month held on their course, the wind veering westerly. But the two succeeding days proved very foggy, and the gale at length shifting to the north-east, rendered it almost impossible to steer any course with safety, having neither sight of land, soundings, nor anchorage. The vessels then, by the advice of the pilots, were brought to with their heads to the southward; nevertheless, about ten at night, they found themselves among the northern rocks and shoals, where eight transports, which had upwards of nine hundred soldiers and seamen on board, were lost, and the men of war escaped with great difficulty.

After this misfortune, and when Sir Hovenden Walker had plied two days with very hard gales, between the west and the south, to save what lives and stores he could, he called a council of war, when after examining the pilots, and weighing every circumstance, it was judged impracticable for a fleet to get up to Quebec; and it was, besides, the opinion of all the pilots, that had the squadron been higher up the river, with the gales they met with, all the ships would have been inevitably lost. At this council of war there were present, besides the rear-admiral, the captains Joseph Soames, John Mitchell, Robert Arris, George Walton, Henry Gore, George Paddon, John Cockburn, and Augustine Rouse.

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On the seventh of September, the ships being joined, another council was called, of sea and land-officers, to determine, whether, under the present circumstances of the fleet and army, it were adviseable to attempt any thing against Placentia; but it appearing that they had not ten weeks provisions, and that supplies were uncertain, it was unanimously determined to return home. At this board were present, besides those sea-officers who were at the last; general Hill, colonel Charles Churchill, colonel William Windresse, colonel Campenfelt, colonel Clayton, and colonel Kirk; together with Vetch and Walton, who commanded the New England forces; and pursuant the determination of these gentlemen, the whole armament set sail for England, where they arrived in October, without having effected any thing.

The whole conduct of the ministry in this affair, was indeed somewhat surprising. In the first place, we find that the matter was kept a secret from the board of admiralty, and secondly, not at all, or at best, but very imperfectly communicated to those who were likely to bear so great a share in it, the people of New England. — An error of this kind is the more extraordinary, as the openness of the English is generally a proverb amongst the nations. Whatever occasioned those who had the management of affairs at this period, to run into the other extreme, it is certain, that their adopting such a maxim contributed much to

the ill success of the expedition ; though it is absurd to imagine with some that there was any deep design in the matter. It is true indeed, a set of men, who were denominated Whigs, in a succeeding reign, made this one of the articles of the earl of Oxford's impeachment ; but that is a circumstance which proves little to any one who is acquainted with the blindness of party zeal, and the extraordinary prejudices which once or twice in a century blind the people of this island. It is plain that Sir Hovenden Walker was neither privy to, nor suspected the ministry of any double design. He used to say, that the expedition was indeed unfortunate, because it failed ; but he added, that it would have been much more so, if the fleet had advanced up the River St. Lawrence : “ For,” said he, “ our mens provisions would then “ have been reduced to eight or nine, perhaps to “ six weeks allowance ;—no relief could possibly “ have been hoped for in less than ten months ;— “ the Feversham, and three store-ships, laden with “ the provisions designed for their supply, being “ cast away in their passage ;—so that, if we had “ escaped shipwreck, (which would have been a “ very great chance) between ten and twelve “ thousand men must have inevitably perished with “ cold and hunger, and the ships have become a “ prey to the returning enemy.—On the other “ hand, had the enemy held out till our people “ had spent all their provisions, the latter must “ have

“ have laid down their arms, and have surrendered
“ at discretion, to avoid death in its most frightful
“ shape, that of famine; or, even if they had
“ taken the place, either by storm or capitulation,
“ the remaining provisions of a small garrison
“ would not have gone far towards subsisting so
“ large a number; nor could they, at that season
“ of the year, have marched through the country
“ in search of more. — And the case would have
“ been similar, had they afterwards attempted Placentia.”

The governor also apologized for the colonists in a speech which was certainly very proper; for the Americans were not in the least chargeable with the miscarriage of the Quebec expedition. They sincerely and justly believed the government to be in earnest in their intentions (whatever some over-wise politicians might urge to the contrary; and, accordingly, they really cheerfully assisted to the utmost of their power. They were not however, ignorant how imprudently measures were concerted in England, and the consequence was, that they did all in their power to remedy the defect they observed, and by their own diligence to make amends for the remissness of their mother country. That all these endeavours proved abortive, was partly chargeable on the ill conduct of the ministry; whose rashness no prudence of their servants could compensate, and partly to accidents which it was not in human policy to prevent.

Queen Anne dying in the year 1714, George, elector of Hanover, succeeded to the crown of Great Britain. That prince appointed colonel Shute to the government of New England, a gentleman, who had served under the duke of Marlborough, and was generally esteemed a good and prudent governor. In his time the province was so well cultivated, that instead of giving encouragement to the planters for clearing the country, by felling trees, an act was passed in England, to prevent any more from being cut down; as appears from the following speech of this governor to the assembly. "Notwithstanding," says he, "the law passed in England for encouraging naval stores, and for the preservation of white pine trees, his majesty has been informed that great spoils are daily committed in his woods, in the province of Main, and in some parts of Massachusetts bay, by cutting down, and putting to private use such trees as may be proper for the navy royal; therefore he recommends that all laws against it may be put in execution, and new ones be made, if these are not sufficient." In the same speech he recommended the rebuilding of the fort Pemmaquid, or erecting a fort in that neighbourhood. In 1717 he met the heads of the eastern Indians near Kennebek river, and found that the French priests from Canada had been again tampering with them to renounce their alliance with, and submission to the crown of Great

Great Britain. This appeared in the haughtiness of the behaviour of the sachems, who, with a peremptory air, demanded that the English should build no more forts, nor make any more settlements on their lands; to which the governor resolutely answered, that he would not part with an inch of ground that belonged to his province, and threatened to build a fort upon every settlement in it. Upon this, the savages departed to a neighbouring island with a shew of resentment; but upon the governor's ordering the ship of war which attended him, to put herself in a sailing posture, they sent to desire another conference, which with some difficulty was granted; and the sachems, to the number of twenty-three, renewed their submission to the crown of England, and all the articles of their former agreement, saying at the same time, in their native style, that they hoped it would last as long as the sun and moon endured. Upon their return home, however, the French renewed their practices with them, and two hundred of them marched, under French colours, to the town of Arrowseck, from whence they sent a menacing letter to the governor, who laid it before the assembly. This produced a new expedition, which was attended by five of the counsellors, and which soon dissipated the danger.

Colonel Shute, at this time, endeavoured in vain to get a salary settled upon him by the colony; and the assembly gave him so much trouble, that he

he was at last forced to carry over to England a complaint against them, consisting of seven articles for invading the royal prerogative: viz. " I. Their taking possession of royal masts cut " into logs. II. Refusing the governor's negative " of the speaker. III. Assuming authority jointly " with the governor and council to appoint fasts " and thanksgivings. IV. Adjourning themselves " for more than two days at a time. V. Dis- " mantling of forts, and ordering the guns and " stores into the treasurer's custody. VI. Sus- " pending of military officers, and mutilating " them of their pay. VII. Sending a committee " of their own to muster the king's forces."

Mr. Cook, the agent for the house of representatives, admitted the first, third, fifth, sixth and seventh articles to be true; and on the part of his constituents he acknowledged their fault, but laid the blame upon the precedents of former assemblies. As to the two articles not acknowledged, an explanatory charter was made out in the twelfth year of George the First, in which is the following clause: " Whereas in their charter, nothing is di- " rected concerning a speaker of the house of re- " presentatives, and their adjourning themselves; " it is hereby ordered, That the governor or com- " mander in chief, shall have a negative in the " election of the speaker, and the house of repre- " sentatives may adjourn themselves, not exceed- " ing two days at a time."

William

William Burnet, Esq. son to the bishop of that name, succeeded colonel Shute. When he entered upon his government he found the people more numerous than those of any colony in the world; their commerce flourishing, and their riches immense: but they had not laid aside the independent principles of their ancestors; and the government of England justly thought that they affected powers inconsistent with their duty to their mother country. To put them to a test of their obedience, Mr. Burnet had an instruction peremptorily to insist upon a settled provision for him as governor, which was as peremptorily refused by the assembly. The disputes on this head increased so much, that for some time no public business could be transacted. Burnet was a zealous promoter of the good of the colony, and had many schemes for its service, which were so just that he had credit enough to carry them into execution. It is thought that he would even have given up the point of his salary had he not been tied down by his instructions from England. But this would have been improper, he having given up a very lucrative place in Great Britain for the government of New York, in which he succeeded governor Hunter, as colonel Montgomery did him. The province of Massachusetts perceiving they could gain nothing upon their governor in the matter of his salary, sent over Jonathan Belcher, Esq. to join with Mr. Wilks in an application to the government of England to get a revocation of his

his instruction on that head. The English ministry being at that time, divided among themselves, the New England agents, who were charged with other complaints against their governor, besides that of his insisting upon a salary, received great encouragement from one part of the administration, and were threatened by the other that the affair should be laid before the parliament; but Burnet dying in September, 1729, Mr. Belcher was appointed to succeed him as governor of New York. In the mean time, Mr. Dummer acted as lieutenant governor. Mr. Belcher arrived at New York on the eighth of August 1730, and was received with great joy by the natives, who thought that under their own countryman they had nothing to apprehend, especially as he had so lately been employed by them as their agent; but they were deceived. The first step he took in his government was to lay before the assembly of New Hampshire his instructions to obtain a salary, and they accordingly granted him two hundred pounds a year. But their example did not further his main end, which was to obtain a proportionable sum from the assembly at Boston. The general assembly of New England met at Cambridge, on the ninth of September, and was opened by the governor with a speech, in which he used the following expressions: "Gentlemen, the king's
" placing me at the head of his government here,
" taken in all circumstances of it, (without assuming
" any personal merit to myself) is such an in-
" stance

“ stance of his majesty’s grace and favour to the
 “ people, as I want words to express. The ho-
 “ nour of the crown, and the interest of Great
 “ Britain, are doubtless very compatible with the
 “ privileges and liberties of her plantations; and
 “ it being my duty to support the former, it will
 “ also be my care to protect the latter. I have in
 “ command to communicate to you his majesty’s
 “ twenty-seventh instruction to me, respecting the
 “ support of his governors in this province for the
 “ future: I therefore desire, from the affectionate
 “ regard I have for my native country, that you
 “ will give your most calm and deliberate attention
 “ to this affair, of so nice a consequence, and now
 “ brought to a crisis.” The crisis he mentions was
 the former threat of obtaining the sanction of a Bri-
 tish parliament for fixing a salary; and Mr. Bel-
 cher, to shew he was not to be baffled, insisting up-
 on the arrears due to the late governor Burnet’s
 children at the rate of a thousand pounds a year for
 his salary. At length his salary was fixed by a bill
 passed in the assembly, but in so ambiguous and
 uncertain a manner, that he refused it his consent.
 The council however, was willing to have agreed
 to his terms; but the house of representatives still
 stood out. On the first of January, being the very
 day before the governor dissolved them, they enter-
 ed the following minute in their books, “ After
 “ the most serious consideration of his majesty’s in-
 “ struction for fixing a salary on his excellency and
 Vol. I. X “ his

“ his successors, together with the rights and privileges of the people, we apprehend the house ought not to accede thereto; but at the same time, we esteem it the duty of this house, as well as their honours, willingly and unanimously to give their votes in passing acts for the ample and honourable support of his majesty’s governor.”

The assembly which met upon the above dissolution, being as refractory as that which was dissolved, it met with the same fate, and a new assembly was called, to whom the governor again urged the necessity of their complying with his majesty’s twenty-seventh instruction, relating to his salary. At last, after various expedients had been proposed and rejected, the governor was prevailed on to accept of one thousand pounds a year, but in such a manner as that the payment of it should not be obligatory upon future assemblies. Other matters of great moment to the peace and prosperity of the colony happened about the same time, particularly a dispute between the province of Massachusetts Bay and that of New Hampshire, about the white pines, already mentioned to be so essential to the shipping of Great Britain. It is almost impossible, considering the vast extent of territory, where the white pines grow, to ascertain those several boundaries between the king and the private subject. It is certain that Ralph Gulston, Esq. who was contractor for the ship-timber for the royal navy, met
with

with such difficulties in executing his contract, that he was forced to have recourse to the governor's authority, who referred the affair to the assembly. After some deliberation, a proclamation was issued by desire of the house, to prevent any kind of molestation being given to Mr. Gulston or his agents; and Mr. Dunbar, the surveyor-general, gave the following publication :

“ Whereas a number of people, who call themselves proprietors of lands in Sheepscot River, and other parts to the eastward of Kennebek River, have, by their agent Mr. Waldo, petitioned his majesty upon their said claims, and are, as I am informed, providing to send thither and take possession of the said lands, without waiting for his majesty's pleasure and determination thereupon: I do hereby give notice to all persons concerned, that I am directed, by his majesty's royal instructions to lay aside three hundred thousand acres of land, bearing the best timber, as contiguous as may be to the sea-shore and navigable rivers within the province of Nova Scotia, to be reserved as a nursery of trees for the royal navy: I have, in obedience to my said instructions, made choice of several places from the east-side of Kennebek River, and more especially in Sheepscot River.” It is here proper to take notice, that by the charter granted to the colony, all trees of the diameter of twenty-four inches and upwards,

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upwards, twelve inches from the ground, growing in the province, were reserved to the crown.

Mr. Belcher had the fate of his predecessors; for, notwithstanding all his public-spirited endeavours for the good of the colony, letters were sent over to the government of England, complaining of his administration, his tyranny, and his being an enemy to the dissenting interest in New England. Those letters, most of which were written in the incendiary strain, would have had very little effect, had not the government of England resolved to adopt a new system, with regard to their American affairs. They were provoked to this, by a dispute raised by the assembly of New England, about the disposal of public money, which they pretended, because they granted it, ought to be vested solely in them. This was talking in a very high strain of independancy; and upon its being checked by the governor, a complaint was carried over to England, where it was voted in parliament, "That the complaint, contained in the New England memorial and petition, was frivolous and groundless, an high insult upon his majesty's government, and tending to shake off the independancy of the said colony upon this kingdom, to which, by law and right, they are, and ought to be, subject." The assembly even ventured to censure Mr. Dunbar, for giving evidence before the house of commons in a bill relating to the better securing and encouraging the trade of the sugar-colonies in America; upon which
that

that house voted unanimously, "That the presuming
" to call any person to account, or pass a censure
" upon him, for evidence given by such person be-
" fore that house, was an audacious proceeding,
" and an high violation of the privileges of that
" house."

In 1741 the government nominated William Shirley, Esq. to succeed Mr. Belcher, of whose conduct we shall have occasion to make particular mention in the sequel of this history; but at present we shall break off to give some account of the neighbouring colonies, under the British dominion, having first added a few observations concerning the government of New England.—

The general assembly of New England, is the supreme legislative body in the colony. In concurrence with the governor, it imposes taxes, makes grants, enacts laws, and redresses public grievances of every kind. It consists of the magistrates, and a certain number of representatives, which form two chambers so nearly resembling our lords and commons, that the consent of the majority of both is necessary before any bill can be presented to the governor for his assent. But as we have an authentic representation from the commissions of trade to the house of lords in January, 1733, we cannot do better than to repeat their sense of the general government of New England, viz. They observe that there are three charter governments, of which the chief
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is the province of Massachuset Bay, commonly called New England; the constitution whereof is of a mixed nature, the power being divided between the king and the people, in which the latter have much the greatest share; for here the people do not only chuse the assembly, but the assembly chuses the council also; and the governor depends upon the assembly for his annual support, which has too frequently laid the governors of this province under temptations of giving up the prerogative of the crown, and the interest of Great Britain.

Connecticut and Rhode Island, are the other charter governments, or rather corporations, where almost the whole power of the crown is delegated to the people, who make an annual election of their assembly, their council, and their governor likewise; to the majority of which assemblies, councils and governors respectively, being collective bodies, the power of making laws is granted; and, as their charters are worded, they can, and do make laws, even without the governor's assent, and directly contrary to their opinions, no negative voice being reserved to them as governors in the said charter: and as the said governors are annually chosen, their office generally expires before his majesty's approbation can be obtained, or any security taken for the due observance of the laws of trade and navigation, and hold little or no correspondence with our office. These colonies have

have the power of making laws for their better government and support, provided they be not repugnant to the laws of Great Britain, nor detrimental to their mother country: and these laws, when they have regularly passed the council, and assembly of any province, and received the governor's assent, become valid in that province, yet remain repealable by his majesty in council, upon just complaint, and do not acquire a perpetual force, unless they are confirmed by his majesty in council. But there are some exceptions to this rule in the proprietary and charter-governments. Thus, in the Massachusetts Bay, if their laws are not repealed within three years after they have been presented to his majesty for his approbation or disallowance, they are not repealable by the crown after that time: and the provinces of Connecticut and Rhode Island are not under any obligation, by their respective constitutions, to return authentic copies of their laws to the crown for approbation or disallowance, or to give any account for their proceedings. There is also this singularity in the governments of Connecticut and Rhode Island, that their laws are not repealable by the crown, but the validity of them depends upon their being not contrary, but as near as may be agreeable to the laws of England.

There has been from the beginning, an office erected by law in every county, where all conveyances of land are entered at large, after the granters

granters have first acknowledged them before a justice of peace, by which means no person can sell his estate twice, or take up more money upon it than it is worth. Provision has likewise been made for the security of life and property, in the election of juries, who are not returned by the sheriff of the county, but are chosen by the inhabitants of the towns; and this election is under the exactest regulation that human prudence can suggest, for preventing corruption. The sheriffs in plantations are comparatively but little officers, and therefore not to be trusted like our's. Redress in the New England courts of law is very quick and cheap; all processes are in English, and no special pleadings or demurrers are admitted; but the general issue is always given, and special matters brought in evidence, which saves time and expence; and in this case a man is not liable to lose his estate for a defect in form, nor is the merit of the cause made to depend on the niceties of clerkship. By a law of the country, no writ may be abated for a circumstantial error, such as a slight misnomer, or any informality; and by another law, it is enacted, that every attorney taking out a writ from the clerk's office, shall indorse his name upon it, and be liable to pay the adverse party his costs and charges in case of non-prosecution or discontinuance, or that the plaintiff be nonsuited, or judgement pass against him. And it is provided in the same act, That if the plaintiff shall

shall suffer a non-suit by the attorney's mislaying the action, he shall be obliged to draw a new writ without a fee, in case the party shall see fit to revive the suit: for the quicker dispatch of causes, declarations are made parts of the writ, in which the case is particularly set forth. If it be matter of accompt, the accompt is annexed to the writ, and copies of both left with the defendant, which being done fourteen days before the sitting of the court, he is obliged to plead directly, and the issue is then tried. Nor are the people of New England oppressed with the infinite delays and expence that attend proceedings in chancery. But as in all other countries, England only excepted *jus & æquum* are held the same, and never divided; so it is here, a power of chancery being vested in the judges of the courts of common law, as to some particular cases, and they make equitable constructions in others. The fees of officers of all sorts, are settled by acts of assembly at moderate prices.

Adultery, blasphemy, striking or cursing a parent, is by them punished with death; as is perjury, where life may be affected. No person can be arrested if he has the means of making any satisfaction. Quakers, jesuits and popish priests are for death. Great care is taken, by their laws, of the morals of the Indians, and to prevent drunkenness, swearing and cursing; and one of

their laws, which they much boast of, is, that Christian strangers flying from tyranny, are to be maintained by the public, or otherwise provided for.

Every town, if it contains thirty burgesſes, can ſend two representatives to parliament; if twenty, one; but Boſton nominates four. There is in the aſſembly the peculiar privilege of ſelecting the members of the council, or what we may call the houſe of lords, who act as aſſiſtants to the governor; but he muſt approve of the election. The prudence of the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Iſland ſerved them in great ſtead when their charters were called in by Charles II. for they ſurrendered only that which had been granted them by the crown; but, when the revolution took place, they produced that which they held from the Maſſachuſet company, which never had been revoked, and which entitled them annually to elect their own governor, and to command their own militia. They went ſo far in aſſerting this laſt privilege, that when king William appointed Benjamin Fletcher, Eſq. who was governor of New York and Pennſylvania, to command the Connecticut forces, the province reſuſed to obey him.

The foreign trade of New England conſiſts of various articles. At the mouth of the river Penobſcot there is a mackarel fiſhery, from which the inhabitants ſupply Barbadoes, and other Britiſh

fish islands in America. They likewise fish in winter for cod, which they dry in the frost. Their salt works are upon the improving hand; and it is said they will soon have salt sufficient to serve themselves. Rich mines of iron of a most excellent kind of temper have been discovered in New England, and if improved, in a short time they may supply Great Britain, without having recourse to the northern nations for that commodity. Besides mackarel and cod, they send to Barbadoes and the other British islands, biscuit, meal, salt, provisions, sometimes cattle and horses, planks, hoops, shingles, pipe-staves, butter, cheese, grain, oil, tallow, turpentine, bark, calves-skins, tobacco, apples and onions; and of these merchandizes Barbadoes takes annually to the value of one hundred thousand pounds sterling. From Barbadoes and those islands, they bring, in return, sugar, cotton, ginger, and various other commodities. From Europe they import wine, silks, woollen cloth, toys, hard-ware, linen, ribbands, stuffs, laces, paper, house-furniture, husbandry tools of all kinds, cordage, hats, stockings, shoes, and India goods, to the value of above four hundred thousand pounds a year. In short, there is no British manufacture that serves the purposes of use, luxury, or ornament, which the people of New England do not import. Their money, till lately, was all paper, struck into what they call province-bills, which occasioned many inconveniencies, and their

manufactures are as yet not many ; nor are they much encouraged by their mother country : — they are however daily improving, and the two last wars with France and Spain have introduced abundance of hard money.

With regard to religion, before the year 1740, the province of Massachusetts Bay contained above one hundred English congregations, besides thirty assemblies of Indian christians. But of all those congregations not above three or four of them followed the forms of the church of England. Every particular society amongst them is independent of all other ecclesiastical jurisdiction ; nor does there lie any appeal from their punishments or censures. Their church-government admits of synods ; but those synods have no power to enforce their own acts, or to establish any thing coercive ; all they can do is, to deliberate on general matters, which are to be laid before the several churches, who have power to reject or approve of them as they see proper. The magistrates have power to call a synod upon any particular exigency, and even to give their opinion in it. The ministers of Boston depend entirely on the generosity of their hearers for their support ; a voluntary contribution being made for them by the congregation every time divine service is celebrated. The police of the inhabitants of New England, with regard to their morals, is as rigid as that of any in the world. Every town of fifty families

families is obliged to maintain a school for reading and writing, and of one hundred families a grammar school for the instruction of youth. Thus vices that are common in all other parts of the world, might be unknown in New England, if the increase of power and riches had not introduced them. Their children being early habituated to industry, could otherwise have no ideas of expensive pleasures or enervating debauches, their constitution in church and state confirming them in this sobriety of habit. They have no holydays but that of the annual election of the magistrates of Boston, and the commencement at Cambridge. Thus an uninterrupted course of industry and application to business prevails all the year round. The province is divided into twelve counties, each county town containing a guildhall, and the whole consists of sixty-one market-towns, twenty-seven fortified places upon eleven navigable rivers, and two colleges. Before the year 1743, their shipping was said to have consisted of, at least one thousand sail, exclusive of their fishing barks; but since that time it has been so very greatly increased, that it is on a moderate calculation thought, that during the late war, the privateers of New England only were equal to all the royal navy of England in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

We have taken notice of several towns there, under regular magistracies and government; but the

the finest of all these and the metropolis of the English colonies is Boston. — This is a handsome city, situated on a peninsula, at the bottom of a fine capacious and safe harbour, which is defended from the outrages of the sea, by a number of islands, and rocks which appear above water. It is entered but by one safe passage; and that is narrow, and covered by the cannon of a regular and very strong fortress. The harbour is more than sufficient for the great number of vessels, which carry on the extensive trade of Boston. At the bottom of the bay is a noble pier, near two thousand feet in length, along which on the north side extends a row of warehouses. The head of this pier joins the principal street of the town, which is, like most of the others, spacious and well built. The town lies at the bottom of the harbour, and forms a very agreeable view. It has a town house, where the courts meet, and the exchange is kept, large, and of a very tolerable taste of architecture. Round the exchange, are a great number of well-furnished booksellers shops, which find employment for five printing presses. There are ten churches within this town; and it contains at least twenty thousand inhabitants.

That we may be enabled to form some judgement of the wealth of this city, we must observe that from Christmas 1747, to Christmas 1748, five hundred vessels cleared out from this port only, for a foreign trade; and four hundred and thirty were

were entered inwards; to say nothing of coasting and fishing vessels, both of which are extremely numerous, and said to be equal in number to the others. Indeed the trade of New England is great, as it supplies a large quantity of goods from within itself; but it is yet greater, as the people of this country are in a manner the carriers for all the colonies of North America and the West-Indies, and even for some parts of Europe. They may be considered in this respect as the Dutch of America.

The commodities which the country yields are principally masts and yards, for which they contract largely with the royal navy; pitch, tar, and turpentine; staves, lumber, boards; all sorts of provisions, beef, pork, butter and cheese, in large quantities; horses and live cattle; Indian corn and pease; cyder, apples, hemp and flax. Their peltry trade is not very considerable. The cod fishery which they have always upon their coast, employs a vast number of their people; they are enabled by this to export annually above thirty-two thousand quintals of choice cod fish, to Spain, Italy, and the Mediterranean, and about nineteen thousand quintals of the refuse sort to the West-Indies, as food for the negroes. The quantity of spirits, which they distil in Boston from the molasses they bring in from all parts of the West-Indies, is as surprising as the cheap rate at which they vend it, which is under two shillings a gallon.

lon. With this they supply almost all the consumption of our colonies in North America, the Indian trade there, the vast demands of their own and the Newfoundland fishery, and in a great measure those of the African trade; but they are more famous for the quantity and cheapness, than for the excellency of their rum.

They are almost the only people of our colonies who have any of the woollen and linen manufactures. Of the former they have nearly as much as suffices for their own cloathing. It is a close and strong, but a coarse stubborn sort of cloth. A number of presbyterians from the North of Ireland driven thence, as it is said, by the severity of their landlords, from an affinity in religious sentiments, chose New England as their place of refuge. Those people brought with them their skill in the linen manufactures, and meeting with very large encouragement, they exercised it, to the great advantage of this colony. At present they make considerable quantities, and of a very good kind; their principal settlement is in a town, which, in compliment to them, is called Londonderry. Hats are made in New England, which, in a clandestine way, find a good vent in all the other colonies. The setting up of these manufactures has been in a great measure a matter necessary to them; for as they have not been properly encouraged in some staple commodity, by which they might communicate with their mother country, while they were cut

cut off from all other resources, they must either have abandoned the country, or have found means of employing their own skill and industry to draw out of it the necessaries of life. The same necessity, together with their convenience for building and manning ships, has made them the carriers for the other colonies.

The business of ship-building is one of the most considerable which Boston or the other sea-port towns in New England carry on. Ships are sometimes built here upon commission; but frequently, the merchants of New England have them constructed upon their own account; and loading them with the produce of the colony, naval stores, fish, and fish-oil principally, they send them out upon a trading voyage to Spain, Portugal, or the Mediterranean; where, having disposed of their cargo, they make what advantage they can by freight, until such time as they can sell the vessel herself to advantage, which they seldom fail to do in a reasonable time. They receive the value of the vessel, as well as of the freight of the goods, which from time to time they carried, and of the cargo with which they sailed originally, in bills of exchange upon London; for as the people of New England have no commodity to return for the value of above a hundred thousand pounds, which they take in various sorts of goods from England, but some naval stores. and those in no great quantities, they are obliged to keep the ba-

lance somewhat even by this circuitous commerce, which, though not carried on with Great Britain nor with British vessels, yet centers in its profits, where all the money which the colonies can make, in any manner, must center at last.

By these observations collected from the best authorities, it may be seen how flourishing this settlement is in itself, and of how much use it may be made to the mother country.

OF NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY.

NEW York is said to have been first discovered by one captain Hudson, an Englishman, who sold it to the Dutch about the year 1608. James I, then king of England indeed protested against the settlement; but his neighbours still kept possession. At length Sir Samuel Argol governor of Virginia attacked and destroyed their colonies. This the Dutch complained of as an outrage, and applied to the king of England for a confirmation of the conveyance. They could only obtain leave to build some cottages for the convenience of their ships. But they found means to enlarge upon this permission so far, that at last this province, which they called the New Netherlands, rose to a flourishing state. — The extent of the government or jurisdiction of New York is as follows; from north to south, that is, from Sandy Hook, in latitude forty degrees, thirty minutes to the supposed Canada line in the parallel of forty-five degrees latitude are
three

three hundred and thirteen English miles ; the extent from west to east is various. 1. From the east southerly termination of the boundary line, between the Jerseys and New York, in latitude forty-one degrees upon Hudson's River, to Byram River, where the colony of Connecticut begins, are one hundred miles. 2. From the west northerly termination of the said boundary line between Jersey and New York, on the north branch of Delaware River, in latitude forty-one degrees, forty minutes to Connecticut west line, including the oblong, are eighty-two miles, whereof about sixty miles from Delaware River to Hudson's River, and twenty-two miles from Hudson's River to the present Connecticut west line, oblong are included. 3. From forty-one degrees forty minutes on Delaware River, New York runs twenty miles higher on Delaware River to the parallel of forty-one degrees latitude, which, by Pennsylvania royal grant, divides New York from the province of Pennsylvania. Upon this parallel New York is supposed to extend west to Lake Erie ; and from thence along Lake Erie, and along the communicating great run of water, from Lake Erie to Lake Ontario or Cataraqui, and along Lake Cataraqui, and its discharge Cataraqui River, to the aforesaid Canada supposed line with the British colonies. We shall instance the breadth of New York province from Oswego ; as being a medium in this line. Oswego fort and trading place, with many nations of Indians upon the Lake Ontario,

Cataraqui or Oswego, in latitude forty-three degrees lies west northerly from Albany about two hundred miles, and about twenty miles from Albany to the west line of the province of Massachusetts Bay, in all about two hundred miles. Montreal lies north by east of Albany above two hundred and twenty miles.

Several islands belong to the province of New York, such as Long Island, which the Dutch call Nassau, and is about one hundred and twenty miles long from east to west, but no more, at a medium, than ten broad. The eastern part of this island was settled from New England, but two thirds of the island is a barren, sandy soil. Staten Island is about twelve miles in length north, and six in breadth, and is inhabited by Dutch and French, as well as English. Nantucket, Martha's vineyard, and Elizabeth Islands, formerly belonged likewise to New York, but were, by the new charter of Massachusetts Bay, granted at the revolution, annexed to that colony. New York contains four incorporated towns, which have several exclusive privileges, and send representatives to the general assembly. The names of the towns are as follow:

1. New York and its territory, which was established by colonel Dungan, and sends four representatives to the general assembly.
2. The city of Albany, which sends two representatives.
3. The town of West-Chester; and,
4. That of Schenectady, each of which sends one.

The climate and soil of
New

New York being greatly superior even to those of New England, had made it an object greatly desirable by the English. The history of New York, during the time the Dutch held it, affords little or nothing material, but what will be found in that of Canada. Its first Dutch governor was Henry Christian, who discovered Martha's vineyard, and he was succeeded by Jacob Elkin, who was appointed to that government by the Dutch West India company, to whom the country belonged. When the Dutch war became inevitable, in the year 1664, king Charles II. made a present of vast tracts of land in those countries to his brother the duke of York, in which New York was included, and the duke let it out in other subdivisions to other proprietors. To render those gifts effectual, Sir Robert Car, an English commander of great courage and spirit, before the declaration of the first Dutch war, was sent with a strong squadron, and three thousand land forces, the greatest armament that had been ever sent from Europe to America, with orders to dispossess the Dutch of this fine country, and to put the duke of York in possession of it. He was attended, by colonel Richard Nicholls, Esq. George Carteret, Esq. and Samuel Meverich, Esq. and he disembarked his land forces on Manhatten island, towards the end of the year 1664, and he and Nicholls marched directly against the town of New Amsterdam. The

Dutch

Dutch governor, though a brave man, being unprovided to receive them, was obliged to capitulate, and to deliver up the place. The capitulation was wise and honourable; for all the Dutch subjects who were willing to submit to the English government were at liberty to reside in the place, and protected in their persons and effects. The town, at that time, was one of the handsomest in all North America; and above half of the Dutch inhabitants chose to submit to the English government, while others were at liberty to carry off their effects; and were succeeded by the English, who gave the colony the name of New York. The first English governor of New York was colonel Nicholls, who, thirteen days after the surrender of New Amsterdam, marched to Orange Fort, which was likewise surrendered to him; and all the straggling plantations in that country fell under the power of the English. Nicholls acted as governor, under the duke of York, till the year 1683, and seems to have been a wise, provident person. It was he who concluded the useful treaty between the Indians of the five nations and the English inhabitants, which subsists to this day. The Dutch, however, recovered New York in 1672, but restored it, a few months after, by the treaty of peace. Nicholls was succeeded in this government in 1683 by Sir Edmund Andros, whom we have already mentioned in the history of New England, and Andros by colonel Dungan, afterwards earl of Limerick.

Dungan.

Dungan, was a catholic; but he had the justest sense of the interests of England, and was an irreconcilable enemy to the French in America. While king James was on the throne, an order came to him from England, to admit French missionaries from Quebec, to make converts to their religion in New York. The colonel could not dispute the order; but suspecting their intention was to debauch the five Indian nations from their friendship with England; he turned them out of the colony. The French complained to the court of England of Dungan's honest proceeding, and some pretend to say that he must have lost his government had king James continued much longer upon the throne. When the revolution took place, his religion disqualified him from continuing in the government of New York; but king William had so just a sense of his merit, that he is said to have offered to procure him a considerable command in the Spanish army, which Dungan refused to accept of, on account of his obligations to king James. After the revolution, the French found means to spirit up the Indians against the inhabitants of New York; and colonel Benjamin Fletcher, the next governor, was ordered to carry over from England thither some men and forces for the protection of the colony. In the mean while, in 1690, colonel Peter Schuyler, an inhabitant of New York, raised three hundred English and three hundred friendly Indians, with whom he marched against Quebec. This seems to have

have been an ill-digested expedition, as it was easy to foresee that the English force, which was destitute of heavy artillery, was insufficient for mastering any strong place. Schuyler advanced into Canada with great intrepidity, and was opposed by a superior army of French, which, he engaged; but after killing three hundred of them, perceiving his strength to be too small to attempt any thing of great consequence, he returned home. Soon after this, the French invaded the province of New York, took and burned the town of Schenectady, and murdered the inhabitants. It was absurdly reported that this invasion was favoured by certain friends of Andros. The truth is, Fletcher not arriving, the government of New York was at this time in a state of anarchy, when colonel Lesley put himself at the head of the affairs of the province, in conjunction with one Mr. Jacob Milbourn. These two associates were wrong-headed enough to imagine, that they would be continued from England in their government, and that they were even strong enough to hold out against the governor named by king William. In the mean while, Fletcher arrived with his troops, and summoned Lesley and Milbourn to give up the fort of New York; which they not only refused to do, but killed one of his soldiers. Fletcher, however, soon got possession of the fort, and ordered Lesley and Milbourn to be tried for high treason, which they were, and condemned, and executed accordingly.

After

After this, the fort of New York was provided with a regular garrison, to prevent surprises from the French or their Indians. During Fletcher's government, Frontenac, the French governor of Canada, invaded Albany, the English barrier of New York, with three thousand French and Canadians. He advanced by Hudson's river, and, after a march of three hundred miles, he fell into the country of the Onondagoes, one of the five nations in friendship with the English, where the count destroyed their habitations, corn, and provision. Fletcher hearing of this invasion, advanced against him, and was joined by several of the friendly Indians, who were highly exasperated against the French and the Hurons. Upon this the count retreated, but with considerable loss, the English and the Iroquois falling upon his rear, and killing a great many of his men. Colonel Slaughter succeeded Fletcher in this government, as Joseph Dudley, Esq. did him. In the year 1697, the earl of Bellamont, as we have already seen, was named to the joint governments of New York and New England: and Mr. Nanfan acted as his deputy for the former. In 1700 Mr. Nanfan refused admittance, by orders from England, to the Scotch ships from Darien; a proceeding which was thought to be inhuman. The lord Cornbury, eldest son to the earl of Clarendon, upon lord Bellamont's death, was appointed governor of New York, and carried over thither his wife and family. His lordship is said

to have carried matters with a very high hand; but the affairs of the colony were under him in excellent order. In 1710, five of the friendly Indian kings were sent to England, where they were kindly received at court; and they addressed queen Anne in the following terms:

“Great Queen,

“ We have undertaken a long voyage, which
“ none of our predecessors could be prevailed with
“ to undertake, to see our great queen, and relate
“ to her those things which we thought absolute-
“ ly necessary for the good of her and of us her
“ allies, on the other side of the water.

“ We doubt not but our great queen has been
“ acquainted with our long and tedious war, in
“ conjunction with her children, against her ene-
“ mies, the French; and that we have been as
“ a strong wall for their security, even to the loss
“ of our best men. We were mightily rejoiced
“ when we heard our great queen had resolved to
“ send an army to reduce Canada; and imme-
“ diately, in token of friendship, we hung up the
“ kettle, and took up the hatchet, and, with one
“ consent, assisted colonel Nicholson in making
“ preparations on this side the lake: but at length
“ we were told, our great queen, by some impor-
“ tant affairs, was prevented in her design at pre-
“ sent, which made us sorrowful, lest the French,
“ who had hitherto dreaded us, should now think
“ us unable to make war against them. The re-
“ duction

“duction of Canada is of great weight to our free
“hunting; so that if our great queen should not
“be mindful of us, we must, with our families,
“forsake our country, and seek other habitations,
“or stand neuter, either of which will be much
“against our inclinations.

“In token of the sincerity of these nations, we
“do, in their names, present our great queen
“with the belts of wampum, and, in hopes of
“our great queen’s favour, leave it to her most
“gracious consideration.”

It was in consequence of this address, the expedition under colonel Hill and Sir Hovenden Walker against Canada, which we have mentioned in the history of New England, was undertaken. General Nicholson was to command in chief the New York forces; of which, besides Indians, three regiments were raised, under the command of the colonels Ingoldsbey, Schuyler, and Whiting. They accordingly marched towards Quebec; but, upon Walker’s miscarriage, they returned to New York. After this, great numbers of Palatines and German protestants arrived, and were settled in the colony, but a vote of the house of commons passed against it, as being an extravagant and unreasonable charge to the kingdom, tending to the increase and oppression of the English poor, and of dangerous consequence to the church. But the new colonists were settled on both sides Hudson’s river, between eighty and a hun-

dred miles above the city of New York. Lord Cornbury, at the same time he was governor of New York, was appointed governor of the Jersey, and, when recalled from his government, he was succeeded by lord Lovelace, who arrived at New York, November 13, 1708, but died in May following. He was succeeded by colonel Ingold, a captain of one of the independent companies, lieutenant-governor; from which post he was removed by a letter from the queen to the council of New York. In 1710 colonel Hunter was appointed to the government of New York, when he arrived on the 14th of June that year, carrying with him two thousand seven hundred Palatine settlers in that province. No more than ten were allowed to one family; upon which they were obliged to go to Pennsylvania, where they settled, and became part of that flourishing colony. As to Mr. Hunter, it is generally acknowledged that his abilities and integrity were equal to those of any governor that ever went from England to America. Having a true sense of the interest of the colony, he renewed the treaty, or, as it is called, the covenant-chain, with the five friendly nations of the Indians. He was afterwards made governor of Jamaica.

Mr. Hunter was succeeded in his government by William Burnet, Esq. son to the famous bishop of Salisbury. This gentleman has been already mentioned in the history of New England. The

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South Sea year had affected his fortune ; so that he found it expedient to change his place of comptroller-general of the customs at London, which was given to Mr. Hunter, for the government of New York and New Jersey. Before his arrival, advice came to New York, that the friendly Indians were meditating an expedition against some distant savages, and that they entertained amongst them one Cœur, a Frenchman. The government of New York thought that such an expedition would be detrimental to the interests of the colony ; and Peter Schuyler, Esq. then president of the council, and the commander in chief of the province, appointed several gentlemen, as his plenipotentiaries, to treat with the Indians, and to dissuade them from their purposes, especially from entertaining Cœur. The Indians accordingly met those gentlemen at Albany ; and it appears, from the minutes of the conference, that the gentlemen of New York were very desirous that the savages to the southward should trade with their province ; while the deputies of the five nations endeavoured to evade the question, as excluding themselves from that commerce :—they offered, however, to treat with their southern brethren, if the latter would come to Albany, but not else. As to the affair of Cœur, they fairly told the gentlemen, that they could not take it upon themselves, but that the English might do it if they pleased, or complain of him to the governor of Canada. As to the expedition

pedition they were about to undertake, they owned that they had such an intention, but that they could say nothing farther concerning it, till they consulted at home with their young men and their sachems that were to head them; and thus the conference broke off. The state of affairs between the English and the five nations occasioned another conference with the latter, at which, besides the governor of New York, were present the governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia. This conference ended to the mutual satisfaction of all parties. It is allowed on all hands that governor Burnet understood extremely well the interests of his government. The building of Oswego, a fortified warehouse for the convenience of trading with the Indians, was owing to him; and he, at last, succeeded in making the people of New York fully sensible, that it was not for their interest to encourage the great trade carried on between them and the French in Canada. In the year 1720, the governor obtained from the assembly an act, prohibiting, for three years, all trade betwixt New York and Canada. Upon the expiration of this act, the London merchants who supplied the New York men with the commodities that they used to send to Canada (nine hundred pieces of woollen cloth having been carried from Albany to Montreal in one year) finding themselves deprived of this beneficial commerce, applied to the king and council against the continuance

nuance of the law ; chiefly, on pretence, that the French could be supplied otherwise ; and that if they were deprived of the English commodities, the French Canadians would apply themselves to the woollen and other manufactures. This petition was by the council referred to a committee of the board of trade and plantations, who transmitted a copy of it, with the reasons on which it was founded, to governor Burnet ; but his reply proved so satisfactory, that the act was continued, and, in 1727, it was, by the assembly, made perpetual, and afterwards confirmed by the king and council in England. The good effects of this measure were soon seen.

The distant Indians, who came to traffic, instead of pursuing a long fatiguing journey to Montreal, stopt at Oswego, which had been built at the governor's private expence, on Lake Ontario, and was always garrisoned by twenty soldiers and a lieutenant. There the savages furnished themselves from the English, at half the price they used to pay the French, with all the commodities they wanted. This naturally increased the trade of New York, and brought great numbers of British subjects into that province ; so that it was no longer monopolized by a few overgrown merchants, but divided into many channels, to the immense profit of the colony.

Besides the main-land of New York, we have mentioned some islands belonging to it. 1. Long-Island

Island, called by the Indians Matowacks, and by the Dutch, Nassau. This lies in length from east to west about one hundred and twenty miles, and, as a medium, is about ten miles broad; its shore is a sandy flat, as is all the east shore of North America from Cape-Cod of New England, in north latitude, forty-two degrees, ten minutes to Cape Florida, in about twenty-five degrees north latitude. Upon the shore of Long-Island are very few inlets, and these very shallow; its north side is good water, there being a sound between it and the main land of Connecticut; the widest part of this near New-haven of Connecticut, does not exceed eight leagues. Two thirds of this island is a barren sandy soil. The eastern parts were settled from New England, and retain their customs; the western parts were settled by the Dutch, where many families to this day understand no other language but theirs. It is divided into three counties, viz. Queen's county, King's county, and Suffolk county, and pays considerably above one-fourth of the taxes or charges of the government of the province. Hell-Gate, where is the confluence or meeting of the east and west tide in Long-Island sound, is about twelve miles from the city of New-York. 2. Staten-Island. This at its east end, has a ferry of three miles to the west of Long-Island; at its west end is a ferry of one mile to Perth-Amboy, of East-Jerseys; it is divided from East-Jerseys by a creek; is in length about twelve miles

and about six miles broad, and makes one
 ty, called Richmond, which pays scarce one
 re and twenty of the provincial tax; it is all
 ie parish, but several congregations: viz. an
 ish, Dutch, and French congregation; the in-
 ants are mostly English; only one consider-
 village, called Cuckold's-town. 3. Nantucket,
 ha's vineyard and Elizabeth islands were for-
 y under the jurisdiction of New York; but
 the revolution they were annexed by the new
 er of Massachusetts Bay, to the jurisdiction of
 achuset Bay; not many years since, some of
 eeholders of these islands when occasionally in
 York, were arrested, for the arrears of the
 al quit-rents of these islands. 4. Manhatans,
 Indian name, New Amsterdam the Dutch
 , or New York the English name, may be
 l an island, though it has a communication
 the main-land, by King's-bridge; the whole
 being about fourteen miles long, but very
 w, is all in the jurisdiction of the city of New
 ;—it lies on the mouth of Hudson's River.

the province of New York are four incorpo-
 towns, which hold courts within themselves,
 representatives to the general assembly or le-
 ure, with sundry exclusive privileges. 1. The
 of New York and its territory, formerly estab-
 by colonel Dungan, sends four representa-

2. The city of Albany probably had their
 er also from colonel Dungan, and is nearly the
 L. I. B b same

same with that of New York; sends two representatives. 3. The borough of West Chester; and, 4. The township of Schenectady. It seems these two corporations had their charters before the revolution, and each of them send one representative to the general assembly.

The old charter of the city of New York is a full and exclusive one, and runs as follows: "Whereas the city of New York is an ancient city, and the citizens anciently a body politic with sundry rights, privileges, &c. as well by prescription as by charters, letters patent, grants, and confirmations, not only of divers governors and commanders in chief in the said province, but also of several governors, directors, generals, and commanders in chief of the Nether Dutch nation, while the same was or has been under their power and subjection. That Thomas Dungan, Esq. lieutenant governor of New York, under king James II. August 27, 1686, by a charter confirmed all their former grants not repugnant to the laws of England and province of New York, with some additions, granting to them all the unappropriated lands to low-water mark in Manhattan's island, under the yearly quit-rent of one beaver-skin, or the value thereof; their jurisdiction to extend all over the island, &c." And this charter was confirmed by a subsequent charter from lord Cornbury governor, April 19, 1708, with some additions granted

ed to them the ferries, &c.—As some questioned the validity of their former charters, because they were in the governor's name only, and not in the name of their kings and queens, they petitioned governor Montgomery for a new charter, confirming all their former privileges, with some additions; granting to them four hundred feet below low-water mark in Hudson's River, &c.

In 1727, on the accession of his majesty George II. to the crown of Great Britain, Mr. Burnet being promoted to the government of New England, was succeeded in that of New York by colonel Montgomery. Under this gentleman some doubts arose concerning the validity of the charters, obtained from former governors, in whose names they ran, and not in those of the kings and queens of England. They therefore petitioned their governor to procure them a royal charter, which he accordingly did, not only confirming their privileges, but enlarging their bounds; and the purport of the charter bearing date the fifth day of January is as follows:

“ They are incorporated by the name of the
 “ mayor, aldermen, and commonalty of the city of
 “ New York.—The city to be divided into seven
 “ wards, viz. west-ward, south-ward, duck-ward,
 “ east-ward, north-ward, Montgomery-ward, and
 “ the out-ward divided into the Bowry division and
 “ Harlem division.—The corporation to consist of
 “ one mayor, one recorder, and seven aldermen,

“ seven assistants, one sheriff, one coroner, one com-
“ mon clerk, one chamberlain or treasurer, one
“ high constable, sixteen assessors, seven collectors,
“ sixteen constables, and one marshal. The mayor,
“ with consent of the governor, may appoint one
“ of his aldermen his deputy. The governor
“ yearly to appoint the mayor, sheriff, and coroner,
“ and the freeholders and freemen in their respec-
“ tive wards to chuse the other officers, excepting
“ the chamberlain, who is to be appointed in
“ council by the mayor, four or more aldermen,
“ and four or more assistants. The mayor to ap-
“ point the high constable. All officers to take the
“ proper oaths, and to continue in office till others
“ have been chosen in their room. When any offi-
“ cer dies, the ward is to chuse another; upon re-
“ fusel to serve in office, the common council may
“ impose a fine, not exceeding fifteen pounds, for
“ the use of the corporation. The mayor or re-
“ corder, and four or more aldermen, with four or
“ more assistants, to be a common council to make
“ by-laws, to regulate the freemen, to lease lands
“ and tenements, &c. but to do nothing inconsistent
“ with the laws of Great-Britain or of this pro-
“ vince; such laws and orders not to continue in
“ force exceeding twelve months, unless confirm-
“ ed by the governor and council. They may punish
“ by disfranchising, or fines for the use of the cor-
“ poration. The common council shall decide in
“ all controverted elections of officers. The com-
“ mon

“ mon council may be called by the mayor, or in
“ his absence by the recorder:—fine of a member
“ for non-attendance not exceeding twenty-shil-
“ lings for the use of the corporation. The cor-
“ poration may establish as many ferries as they
“ may see fit, and let the same. To hold a mar-
“ ket at five or more different places every day of
“ the week, excepting Sunday: to fix the assize of
“ bread, wine, &c. The mayor with four or more
“ aldermen may make freemen, fees not to exceed
“ five pounds:—none but freemen shall retail goods
“ or exercise any trade, (penalty five pounds) no
“ aliens to be made free. To commit common
“ vagabonds, erect work-houses, goals, and almsh-
“ houses. The mayor to appoint the clerk of the
“ market, and water bailiff; to license carmen,
“ porters, criers, scavengers, and the like; to give
“ licence to taverns and retailers of strong drink
“ for one year, not exceeding thirteen shillings per
“ licence; selling without licence five pounds cur-
“ rent money toties quoties. The mayor, deputy
“ mayor, recorder, and aldermen for the time be-
“ ing, to be justices of the peace. The mayor,
“ deputy mayor, and recorder, or any of them,
“ with three or more of the aldermen, shall hold
“ quarter sessions, not to sit exceeding four days.
“ Moreover, recorder, and aldermen, to be named
“ in all commissions of oyer and terminer, and goal
“ delivery. The mayor, deputy mayor, recorder,
“ or any one of them, with three or more of the
“ aldermen,

“ aldermen, shall and may hold every Tuesday a
“ court of record, to try all civil causes, real, per-
“ sonal, or mixed, within the city and county. May
“ adjourn the mayor’s court to any time not ex-
“ ceeding twenty-eight days. The corporation to
“ have a common clerk, who shall be also clerk
“ of the court of record, and sessions of the peace ;
“ to be appointed during his good behaviour, by
“ the governor. Eight attornies in the beginning,
“ but as they drop, only six to be allowed, during
“ their good behaviour, for the mayor’s court ;
“ the mayor’s court to have the direction and cog-
“ nissance of the attornies, who, upon a vacancy,
“ shall recommend one to the governor for his ap-
“ probation. The mayor, recorder, or any alder-
“ man, may, with or without a jury, determine in
“ cases not exceeding forty shillings value. No
“ freeman inhabitant shall be obliged to serve in
“ any office out of the city. A grant and confir-
“ mation to all the inhabitants of their heredita-
“ ments, &c. paying the quit-rent reserved by their
“ grants. The corporation may purchase and hold
“ hereditaments, &c. so as the clear yearly value
“ exceed not three thousand pounds sterling, and
“ the same to dispose of at pleasure. To pay a
“ quit-rent of thirty shillings proclamation money
“ a year, besides the beaver skin, and five shil-
“ lings current money in former charters required.
“ No action to be allowed against the corporation
“ for any matters or cause whatsoever prior to this
“ charter:

“ charter. A pardon of all prosecutions, forfeitures, &c. prior to this charter. This grant or the enrolment thereof [record] shall be valid in law, notwithstanding of imperfections, the imperfections may in time coming be rectified at the charge of the corporation.”

Colonel Montgomery, during the short time he acted as governor there, was charged with making judges without the advice of the council; but he died in July 1731, and his government in general has been greatly applauded. He is particularly mentioned, as having been a great promoter of mathematical knowledge in the colony. At the time Mr. Montgomery died, Rip Van Dam, Esq. being president of the council, acted in the capacity of governor and commander in chief of New York. It unfortunately happened for our American provinces, at the time we now treat of, that a government in any of our colonies in those parts, was scarcely looked upon in any other light than that of an hospital, where the favourites of the ministry might lie till they had recovered their broken fortunes; and oftentimes they served as asylums from their creditors. Upon the death of colonel Montgomery, the French and their Indians became extremely troublesome to the people of New York, and the president gave notice accordingly to Mr. Belcher at Boston, who took the proper methods for obviating the danger. It was in the year 1732, when colonel Cosby arrived at his government

government at New York; and in the mean while, the president Van Dam, had, at the colonel's request, advanced several sums on his account, which, on the governor's arrival, he not only refused to repay, but commenced actions for arrears of perquisites and fees belonging to him, which he alledged had been received by Van Dam. These altercations were attended with very bad consequences to the civil and commercial state of the colony; for the governor availed himself of his superior authority in the colony to oppress Van Dam;—but the chief justice Morrice gave his opinion flatly in contradiction to the governor, whose daughter was married to lord Augustus Fitzroy, then captain of a man of war upon that station.

It was during the government of that gentleman, that the French and their Indian allies grew extremely troublesome to the people of New England, which drew from the pen of the very intelligent Mr. Dummer, the New England agent, the following reproaches against the government of New York: “ New York has always kept itself in a
“ state of neutrality, contributing nothing to the
“ common safety of the British colonies, while the
“ Canada Indians, joined by parties of the French,
“ used to make their route by the borders of
“ New York, without any molestation from the
“ English of that province, and fall upon the out-
“ towns of New England. This behaviour was
“ the more unpardonable in that government; be-
“ cause

“ cause they have four hundred regular troops
“ maintained them at the king’s charge, and
“ have five nations of the Iroquois on their con-
“ fines, who are entirely dependent on them, and
“ might easily, had they been engaged in the
“ common cause, have intercepted the French in
“ their marches, and thereby have prevented the
“ depredations on his majesty’s subjects of New
“ England. Solemn and repeated applications
“ were made to the government of New York by
“ the governors of the Massachusetts, Connecticut,
“ and Rhode Island, in joint letters on this subject,
“ but in vain. The answer was, They could not
“ think it proper to engage their Indians in actual
“ war, lest they should endanger their own fron-
“ tiers, and bring upon themselves an expence
“ which they were in no condition to provide for.
“ And thus the poor colonies, whose constitution
“ was charter-government, were left to bear the
“ whole burden, without any help from those
“ provinces, whose governors held their commis-
“ sions from the crown.”

By this change, it appears, that the people of New York in general thought they were by no means obliged to involve themselves in inconveniences on account of their neighbours; and, to say the truth, the prosperity of their colony was, in a great measure, owing to their cultivating a good understanding with the native Indians of all nations, not to mention, that, by the situation of

their country, their frontier was more exposed than that of any other colony to the inroads of those barbarians. This appeared in the year 1734, when the motions of the Indians, under the French influence, made them apprehensive of an invasion. Upon this occasion, the assembly, without entering upon any offensive measures, came to several resolutions for their own defence. Six thousand pounds were voted for fortifying the city of New York; four thousand for erecting a stone fort, and other conveniences for soldiers and artillery at Albany; eight hundred for a fort and blockhouses at Schenectady, and five hundred for managing the Senecas, and, if practicable, for building fortifications in their country.

In the mean time, the conduct of the governor Cosby, became more obnoxious to the inhabitants. He had altered the chief justice Morrice out of his place, for opposing him in his dispute with Van Dam, and he had turned the courts of law into a court of chancery; against which the lawyers of the province had flatly given their opinions; saying, that the constitution of the courts in that colony were originally the same with those in England. Those proceedings rendered the governor and his administration so unpopular, that one John Peter Zenger, a printer, was privately encouraged by the inhabitants to publish a weekly journal, where, in the political affairs of the colony, and the go-
vernor

vernor and his council, were very boldly treated. About two months after the first publication of this paper, De Lancey, the new chief justice, charged the grand jury to find a bill against Zenger, which they refused to do. Upon this, a committee of the council and the assembly conferred together, and the former required the latter to join with them in a vote for burning three numbers of the said journal. But when the committee of assembly reported the result of the conference, it was resolved to take no concern in the matter, and they returned the papers left with them by the committee of the council. The latter, upon this, ordered, by their own authority, the papers in question to be burned, which was executed by the hands of the sheriff. One Hamilton, a lawyer of Philadelphia, came to New York on purpose to plead Zenger's cause, and the jury brought in the prisoner not guilty. Mr. Cosby, was succeeded in the administration in 1736, by George Clarke, Esq. and in May 1741, the honourable George Clinton, Esq. uncle to the earl of Lincoln, and afterwards admiral of the white, was nominated to the government of New York. Nothing remarkable happened with regard to this colony during the two last administrations, till the breaking out of the late war with France, of which we shall treat in its proper place, that we may avoid impropriety as much as

possible, as the history of all the British empire in America, without dull repetitions is our design.

This is a crown-government, administered by a governor, who has his commission under the broad seal of England. The legislative power and authority is lodged in the governor; the council, who are twelve in number, appointed by the king, but are filled up by the governor when vacancies happen, and twenty-seven representatives elected by the people. In other respects the government is as conformable to the laws of England as that of a colony can be. The exercise of the government is in the governor and council; of whom five is a quorum, and upon the death or absence of the governor, the first in nomination in the council is to preside. The people chuse their representatives, the numbers of whom are fixed by the crown; and those representatives have much the same privileges with the members of the British parliament. All modes of the christian religion not detrimental to society are tolerated in this colony, but that of the Romish church; an impolitic exception, too much practised in our colonies, which ought by their nature to admit all nations and religions in the world, so long as they demean themselves as good citizens, and dutiful subjects to the form of government by law duly established.

As to the trade of New York, it consists in wheat, flour, skins, furs, oil of whales, and sea-calves,
iron

iron and copper, of both which very rich mines have been discovered there. There is a very great intercourse between this colony and the Indians. The industry of the inhabitants is equal to that of any people on the face of the globe. They trade not only with England but with Spain, Portugal, Africa, and all the West-India islands, not excepting the French and Dutch, and even with the Spanish continent in America, by which means they are enabled to pay in gold and silver for the manufactures they bring from their mother-country. The soil of the province is fertile almost beyond belief. All kind of black cattle are more numerous here than in any European country, and they have a breed of excellent horses of their own. The trade of the inhabitants is chiefly carried on by water-carriage, and ships of five hundred tons may come up to the wharfs of the city, and be always afloat. Hudson's river, where it runs by New York, is above three miles broad, and proves a noble conveyance for the goods of the counties of Albany, Ulster, Dutchess, Orange and Winchester to that city, of which we shall give a circumstantial description before we conclude this section. The facility of the voyage from New York to England and the West Indies, has been of infinite service to this colony; for by the lowness of the freight, they purchase furs at a very cheap rate for strouds,
[a woollen

[a woollen manufacture established at Stroud in England] and other woollen goods; all which are sure of a ready vent with the Indians. Bristol is the chief place in England, which the colonists of New York trade with, and they generally perform, at least, two voyages in a year with so much safety, that the insurance upon shipping in time of peace is no more than two per cent. As to the amount of their trade with their mother country, it was seven years ago computed that their imports from it was annually about one hundred and fifty thousand pounds; but they are since so much increased with the trade of the colony, that we cannot venture to assign them a value.

Oswego, formerly mentioned, is a fort, and Indian trading place in times of peace, with a garrison of soldiers taken from the four independent regular companies, to prevent any disorders in trade, this being in the season a kind of Indian fair: last French war the garrison consisted of two hundred men of regular troops and militia, and the French did not find it convenient to molest them. Our traders with the Indians fit out from Albany, and pay a certain duty upon what they vend and buy at Oswego: their route is from Albany to Schenectady town, or corporation upon Mohocks river, sixteen miles land carriage; thence up Mohocks river; in this river is only one short carrying place at a fall in that river; from Mohocks river a carrying place of three to five miles according

According to the seasons, here are convenient Dutch land carriages to be hired, to a river which falls into the Oneidas lake; then from this lake down Onondagoes river to Oswego trading place upon lake Ontario; there is a short fall in Onondagoes river. Almost the whole of the east side of the Ontario lake lies in the Onondagoes country. From Oswego fort to Niagara falls, on French fort Dononville are about one hundred and sixty miles, and from Oswego forty-six miles to fort Frontenac, also called Cataragui fort, where the lake vents by Cataragui river, which with the Outawae river makes St. Laurence river called the Great River of Canada; this fort Frontenac is about two hundred miles down that rocky river to Montreal.

By conjecture of the French *Coueurs des bois* in round numbers, the circumference of five great lakes or inland seas of North America, are, Ontario, two hundred leagues, Erie, two hundred leagues, Hurons three hundred leagues, Michigan, three hundred leagues, and the upper lake five hundred leagues.

The Mohock nation of our allied New York Indians live on the south side of a branch of Hudson's river, called Mohocks river, but not on the north side thereof, as is represented in the French maps. The Oneidas nation lie about one hundred miles west from Albany, near the head of the Mohocks river. The Onondagoes lie about one hundred and thirty miles west from Albany. The

Tusca-

Tuscaroras, an adventitious or sixth nation live partly with the Oneidas, and partly with the Onondagoes. The Cayugas about one hundred and sixty miles west from Albany. The Senecas who live upon the frontiers of Pennsylvania are about one hundred and forty miles west from Albany. A noted French writer, M. de Lisle, calls these nations by the name of Iroquois.

Formerly the French had popish missionaries with the Oneidas, Onondagoes, and Cayugas, and endeavoured to keep them in their interest.

There is scarce any beaver in the country of the Five Nations; therefore their hunting at a great distance from home, occasions frequent jarrings with other Indian nations; this trains them up by practice, to be better warriors than the other Indian nations.

The province of New York has two cities; the first is called by the name of the province itself. It was denominated New Amsterdam when the Dutch possessed it, but it has changed its name along with its masters. This city is most commodiously situated for trade, upon an excellent harbour, in an island called Manahatton, about fourteen miles long, though not above one or two broad. This island lies just in the mouth of the river Hudson, which discharges itself here after a long course. This is one of the noblest rivers in America. It is navigable upwards of two hundred miles. The tide flows one hundred and fifty.

The

The city of New-York contains upwards of two thousand houses, and above twelve thousand inhabitants, the descendants of Dutch and English. It is well and commodiously built, extending a mile in length, and about half that in breadth, and has a very good aspect from the sea; but it is by no means properly fortified. The houses are built of brick, in the Dutch taste; the streets not regular, but well paved. There is one large church built for the church of England worship; and three others, a Dutch, a French, and a Lutheran. The town has a very flourishing trade, and in which great profits are made. The merchants are wealthy, and the people in general most comfortably provided for, and with a moderate labour. From the year 1749 to 1750, two hundred and thirty-two vessels have been entered in this port, and two hundred and eighty-six cleared outwards. In these vessels were shipped six thousand seven hundred and thirty-one tons of provisions, chiefly flour, and a vast quantity of grain; of which I have no particular account. In the year 1755, the export of flax-seed to Ireland amounted to twelve thousand five hundred and twenty-eight hogheads.

The inhabitants of the province are between eighty and an hundred thousand; the lower class easy, the better sort rich and hospitable; great freedom of society; and the entry to foreigners made easy by a general toleration of all religious persuasions. In a word, this province yields to no

was from the Noorde Rivier, now called Hudson's river, to the Zuyde Rivier, now called Delaware river ; and up Hudson's river to forty-one degrees north latitude, and up Delaware river to forty-one degrees forty minutes, and from these two stations headed by a strait line across. It does not appear that, when this grant was made, the Dutch opposed it, or the settlement that was made by the proprietors under the duke of York. When the New Netherlands were conquered from the Dutch, it was thought proper, that king Charles should renew his grant to his brother, who by lease and release, on the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth of July, 1674, conveyed to Sir George Carteret the eastern division of New Jerseys, divided from the western division of the Jerseys, by a strait line from the south-east point of Little Egg Harbour, on Barnegate Creek, being about the middle between Sandy Hook and Cape May, to a kill or creek a little below Rencokus Kill on Delaware river, and thence (about thirty-five miles) by a strait course along Delaware river, up to forty-one degrees forty minutes north latitude, the north divisional line between New York and the Jerseys. When Mr. Carteret entered upon his government, which comprehended the joint concern of both the proprietors, the people of Elizabeth town were extremely unmanageable, and upon the commencement of the quit-rents, on the twenty-fifth of March, 1670, they refused to pay them, under pretence that they held their posses-
sions

Elfunbourg, which last retains its name to this day. Notwithstanding this, it was afterwards found, or pretended, when Charles II. perceived it convenient for his purpose, that Sebastian Cabot had formerly taken possession of all this coast in the name of Henry VII. of England. Be this as it will, it is certain that the Swedes in general having no great turn for commercial affairs or territorial improvements, suffered their settlement here to languish; so that the Dutch almost entirely planted the north parts of New Jersey by the name of Nova Belgia, and, about the year 1665, Rizing, the Swedish general, sold to them all the Swedish possessions. After this, New Jersey, with the three lower counties of Pennsylvania upon Delaware river, became part of the New Netherlands or Nova Belgia. When the reduction of this province was resolved upon by Charles II. he made a previous grant of both the property and government of it to his brother the duke of York, by a deed, dated March 12, 1663; and the duke assigned the government of that part, which is called New Jersey, to the lord Berkley and Sir George Carteret. This last grant was posterior to the duke of York's commission granted to governor Nichols. The first lieutenant-governor of New Jersey, so called from the great property Sir George Carteret had in the island of Jersey, was Philip Carteret, Esq. who entered on his government in August 1665. The duke of York's grant

their interest to twelve other persons separately, viz. Robert Berkeley, Edward Bylling, Robert Turner, James Brien, Arent Soumans, William Gibson, Gawen Laurie, Thomas Barker, Thomas Evarner, James earl of Perth, Robert Gordon, and John Drummond. This conveyance was afterwards confirmed by the duke of York. Soon after this, the proprietors sold shares of East New Jersey to James Drummond, earl of Perth, John Drummond, Esq. Sir George Mackenzie, Robert Barclay, and David Barclay of Ury, Esquires; Robert Gordon, Esq. Mr. Robert Burnet, Mr. Gowen Laurie, Mr. Thomas Nairn, Mr. James Braine, Mr. William Dockwra, Mr. Peter Soumans, Mr. William Gibson, Thomas Cox, Esq. Mr. Walter Benthall, Mr. Robert Turner, Mr. Thomas Barker, and Mr. Edward Bylling. The conveyances to those gentlemen were likewise confirmed by the duke of York in 1682. A governor and lieutenant-governor were then provided, the nomination of the former, falling upon Robert Barclay, the famous quaker, and of the latter upon Gawen Laurie.

It must be confessed that the mixture of proprietors in this settlement was very extraordinary. They consisted of very high prerogative men, (especially those from Scotland) of dissenters, papists, and quakers. It is pretended by some people, that this heterogeneous mixture of different religions was privately encouraged by the duke of York, that he might make an experiment of that favourite

favourite toleration, which he afterwards, so fatally for himself, attempted to introduce into England. It is remarkable, that though all the patentees of Lord Berkeley's division of West New Jersey, excepting one, were proprietors of East New Jersey, yet their governments still continued to be distinct. The Scots, however, who were the principal settlers, were ill fitted for such an undertaking; and the settlement of East New Jersey languished most miserably. The proprietors chose Mr. William Dockwra for their register and secretary, and one Lockhart for their marshal. They then proceeded to schemes of partition, and laid out counties, parishes, and towns, reserving to themselves one seventh.—The terms of purchase were, that every master of a family was to have fifty acres set out, twenty-five for his wife, and each of his children and servants, paying twelve-pence a head to the register; servants, when their times expired, were to have thirty acres. All persons to pay two-pence an acre quit-rent, or purchase their freeholds at fifty shillings for every twenty-five acres taken up.—Mr. Laurie, who had a considerable interest in West New Jersey, was thought to be partial to that division; for while he held the government before Berkeley's arrival, he refused to obey the proprietors in removing the courts from Elizabethtown to Perth Amboy, the situation of which pointed it out as the capital of the province; but, had every thing else succeeded with our settlers, they

they were under one capital defect, that must have overthrown all their schemes; we mean, the want of industry and inhabitants. After the revolution, in 1696, colonel Andrew Hamilton was appointed governor, and was succeeded the next year by Jeremiah Basse, Esq. who being recalled, colonel Hamilton, was reinstated in the government, which a few months after was given to Basse. The latter was succeeded by colonel Andrew Brown, who held it at the time that the proprietors surrendered the sovereignty of it to queen Anne, in 1701.

As to West Jersey, or lord Berkeley's division, from the year 1674, Sir Edmund Andros, whom we have spoken of in the history of New England, some say by virtue of a commission from the duke of York, wrested the government from lord Berkeley's assignees; but they recovered it, and having obtained a new grant in 1680, they chose Edward Bylling, Esq. for their governor. In 1690, Dr. Daniel Cox, of the college of physicians in London, having purchased the greatest part of the property of West Jersey, appointed himself governor, but never went over thither, and at last sold all his interest there for nine thousand pounds, to Sir Thomas Lane. All this while, the contentions amongst the sharers of both the Jerseys, as well as about matters of property the right of appointing a governor, had reduced the two provinces to a most lamentable condition; and the pro-

stors wisely resolved to resign its government
 crown, reserving all their other rights. Ac-
 gly, on the twenty-second of April, 1702,
 omas Lane, in the name of the proprietors
 st New Jersey, and Mr. William Dockwra,
 name of those of East New Jersey, having
 d the governments of these respective pro-
 to queen Anne, her majesty immediately
 ted the lord Cornbury for their governor ;
 ; secretary was Mr. Basse, the late governor.
 same time, the proprietors obtained of the
 , in favour of themselves and of the people, a
 standing instructions, which were to serve as
 for the conduct of future governors. The
 of those instructions were well calculated
 good of the colony. The first was, That
 vernor should consent to no tax upon lands
 re vacant or unprofitable. The second, That
 ds should be purchased of the Indians, but
 : general proprietors ; and the third, which
 most excellent provision, was, That all lands
 sed should be improved by the possessors.
 overnment of the two Jerseys was then held
 overnor, council, and assembly. The coun-
 s to be chosen by the governor, who had
 to appoint his lieutenant governor ; and
 i the price of lands was still very low, yet
 re two provinces came into one government,
 airs of the colony took a very favourable
 It then appeared that the two provinces of
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the East and West New Jerseys, had in fact been made jobs of by different proprietors, who had bought them, without the least regard to the good of the colonies, but that they might sell them again. For many years, the governors of the province of New Jersey (for so it was called) was vested in the governor of New York; and, before the peace of Utrecht, it was thought to contain above sixteen thousand inhabitants. Upon the death of colonel Cosby, it appears that the government of the Jerseys was wholly detached from that of New York, and was given to Lewis Morrice, Esq. who had been chief justice of New York, and died May 14, 1746. He was succeeded by Jonathan Belcher, Esq. whose first meeting with the provincial assembly was on the twenty-second of August the same year. The history of New Jersey now falling in with that of the other British colonies of America, during the last wars with France, we shall therefore proceed to its civil history.

In the civil constitution of New Jersey, we find there were three negatives, 1. That of the governor, who is likewise vice-admiral and chancellor of the province. 2. That of the council, which, with the governor, forms a court of error and chancery. 3. Of the house of representatives, twenty of whom serve for counties, and the remaining four for the two towns or cities, as they
are

are called, of Perth Amboy and Burlington. This house, though no court of judicature, has the privilege of inquiring into the mal-administration of the courts of justice. Upon the duke of York's granting the two Jerseys to lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, Nicholls, who was then governor of New Jersey for that duke, apprehending that he might be superseded in his government, took advantage of the instructions of his patent, and gave leave to certain persons to purchase lands from the Indians, subject to certain quit-rents; and the like was done by Carteret, the first governor under the assignees. Such purchases being expressly against the spirit of the duke of York's grant, and yet good in law, created inexpressible disturbances and confusion in this government; but the Indian purchasers seem to have had the better in the dispute, which, we apprehend, was never fully decided.

New Jersey, according to the common maps, is bounded on the south-east by Delaware Bay; and by that river on the south and west; and, on the north, by New York and unknown countries; and by the Atlantic Ocean on the east. It lies between thirty-five degrees forty-one minutes, and thirty-nine degrees ten minutes of north latitude; and between seventy-three degrees forty-six minutes, and seventy-five degrees fifteen minutes west longitude. It is in length on the sea-coast, and along Hudson's River, that is, from south to north, about one

hundred and forty miles, and about eighty where broadest; but this mensuration is all conjecture. East Jersey is divided into four counties, viz. those of Monmouth, Middlesex, Essex, and Bergen. It contains a town called Middleton, which is twenty-six miles south of Piscataqua; but its principal town is Shrewsbury, which is the most southern town in the province, and contains about thirty thousand out-plantation acres. Between Shrewsbury and Middleton is an iron-work. The chief town of Essex-county, and indeed in both the Jerseys, is Elizabeth town, which lies opposite to the westward of Staten island. The greatest part of the trade of the province is here carried on. Newark is another town in Essex county, and has annexed to it about fifty thousand acres; but part of them remains still to be cultivated. Middlesex county has for its chief town Perth Amboy, which, in reality, ought to be the provincial town of East Jersey. It stands near the mouth of Delaware river, as it runs into the mouth of Sandy Hook bay, which is never frozen, and is capacious enough to contain five hundred ships. It is generally allowed that this might have been rendered one of the finest towns in all North America, had it not been for the extraordinary mismanagement of the Scotch planters, and the bad conduct of Gawen Laurie, the deputy-governor. Bergen county lies upon Hudson's River, and is extremely well watered; but, in general, it is but
thinly

thinly inhabited. Brunswick is another town in this province, where a college for the instruction of youth was established October 22, 1746, by governor Belcher. The trustees of this college are generally presbyterians, and it is governed by a president.

As to West Jersey, it was intended by Dr. Cox to be laid out into seven counties ; but this project never took effect. It is not so well planted as East Jersey, though it lies equally commodious for trade. The only spot of ground that retains the name of a county is that of Cape May, which lies at the mouth of Delaware Bay, dividing the two Jerseys. Burlington, which lies in an island in the middle of Delaware River, opposite to Philadelphia, is the capital of the province, the courts and the assemblies of West Jersey being holden here. It is well situated for trade, the town is well built, with town-houses, and two bridges. West New Jersey has an easy communication by the river *Æsopus* with New York, and with Maryland by another river, which comes within four miles of Chesapeak-bay. A project was once on foot for joining this river and the bay by an artificial canal ; but it met with such opposition from the inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland, that it came to nothing.

Notwithstanding the inexpressible disadvantages under which New Jersey so long laboured from the nature of its constitution, the multiplicity of
its

its owners, and the uncertainty of their tenures; yet the inhabitants have made a most surprising progress, both in trade and agriculture since they were under the government of the crown. This is owing to their commodious situation, which, in a manner, invites commerce to reside amongst them, and from their being less exposed than many of their neighbours are to the insults of the savages. The people of New Jersey had their share of the trouble and expence of the Canada expedition in 1710; but since that time they have recovered their credit so greatly, that their paper-currency, to the amount of sixty thousand pounds, has more credit than that of either Pennsylvania or New York, for the Pennsylvania bills are not received at New York, nor those of New York at Pennsylvania; but the New Jersey bills circulate through both those provinces. As before the peace of Utrecht the inhabitants of New Jersey were computed at sixteen thousand, so at present they amount to near sixty thousand. During the wars between France and England, they contributed very considerably towards carrying them on; and in the year 1746, when there was a scheme for invading Canada, they raised and victualled five companies of one hundred men each. As to the trade of New Jersey, it is an excellent corn country; and it is said to raise more wheat than any other colonies; they likewise raise some flax and hemp. They chiefly trade with New York and Pennsylvania, where they dispose

dispose of their grain; but of late they have come into a considerable trade for provision with the Antilles; and they send to Portugal, Spain, and the Canaries, tobacco, oil, fish, grain, and other provisions. By means of employing negroes, as their neighbours do, in cultivating their lands, they have of late more than double their value; and they now work a copper ore mine, and manufacture iron ore into pigs and bars. To give the reader some idea of the present value of this country, the property of half of which some years ago was thought dear at nine thousand pounds, and, indeed, was deemed not worth holding, we shall here insert some articles of their imports and exports from the twenty-fourth of June, to the same day next year. — [Exported, Flour, six thousand four hundred and twenty-four barrels; bread, one hundred and sixty-eight thousand five hundred weight; beef and pork, three hundred and fourteen barrels; grain, seventeen thousand nine hundred and forty-one bushels; hemp, fourteen thousand weight. Some firkins of butter, some hams, beer, flax-seed, bar-iron, some lumber. Imported, rum, thirty-nine thousand, six hundred and seventy gallons; molasses, thirty-one thousand, six hundred gallons; sugar, two thousand eighty-nine hundred weight; pitch, tar, and turpentine, four hundred thirty-seven barrels; wines, one hundred twenty-three pipes; salt, twelve thousand seven hundred fifty-nine bushels.]

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The principal rivers in the province of New Jersey, are the Noorde Rivier or Hudson's River, which we have already delineated in the section of New York, and Zuide Rivier or Delaware River. We shall here take notice, that in the Jersey side of this River are several short creeks. These of Cohansey, and of Salem twenty miles higher, make one district of custom-house; at Bridlington twenty miles above Philadelphia is another custom district.—These two custom-house districts, their quarterly entries and clearances of vessels, are generally little, and scarce deserve the name of preventive creeks. The main branch of Delaware River come from Cat-kill mountains, a few miles west of the fountains of Schoharie River, a branch of the Mohocks River. Raritan River falls into Sandy Hook Bay at Amboy point; the tide flows twelve miles up to Brunswick:—at the mouth of this river is the only considerable sea-port and custom-house of New Jersey. Here is the city of Perth Amboy, it is the capital of the province of New Jersey, and here are kept the provincial records: there is a good deep water harbour and promising country; but notwithstanding, it has only the appearance of a mean village. The name is a compound of Perth, the honorary title of the late Drummond, earl of Perth, and Amboy its Indian name.

The sea line of New Jersey, is Arthur Cul Bay, and Amboy Sound, between Staten Island and
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the main, about twenty miles south. These receive the rivulets of Hackinsack, Passaic, Bounds Creek, and Raway; from Amboy Point to Sandyhook (Sandy Hook is in East Jersey) twelve miles east from Sandy Hook to Cape May, one hundred and twenty miles south westerly, is a flat and double sandy shore, having some inlets practicable only by small craft.

There are several chains or ridges of hills in this province, but of no consideration.

Perth Amboy is the provincial town of East Jersey; Bridlington is the province town of West Jersey, distance fifty miles, where the general assembly of all the Jerseys sits alternately, and where the distinct provincial judicatories or supreme courts sit respectively. Bridlington, commonly called Burlington, is a pleasant village. Elizabeth Town is the most ancient corporation and considerable town of the province. Brunswick in East Jersey is nearly the centre of the East and West Jerseys; where is lately established a college for the instruction of youth, by a charter from governor Belcher, dated October 22, 1746, with power to confer all degrees as in the universities of England: the present trustees are generally presbyterian, a majority of seven or more trustees have the management; each scholar and pays four pounds per annum, at eight shillings an ounce silver; Mr. Jonathan Dickenson was their first and, Mr. Burr is their

present president; in this college October 5, 1749, commenced seven batchelors of arts.

The road as in present use, from New York city to Philadelphia, is, from New York to Elizabeth Town seventeen miles, thence to Brunswick twenty-two miles, thence to Trent Town Ferry thirty miles, thence to Philadelphia twenty miles; being in all from the city of New York to Philadelphia one hundred and four miles.

From Cape May to Salem are about sixty miles, thence to Bridlington fifty miles, thence to Trent Town falls fifteen miles. These are the first falls of Delaware River, and so high the tide flows: below these falls when the tide is down and no land floodings in the river. — The river itself is fordable.

In the province of the Jerseys are five corporations with courts; whereof three are in East Jersey, the city of Perth Amboy, the city of New Brunswick, and the borough of Elizabeth Town; and two in West Jersey, the city of Bridlington, alias Burlington, and the borough of Trent Town. Of these only two, Perth Amboy and Burlington, send representatives to the general assembly.

The two new out counties of Morris, and Trent, seem hitherto not to have been reduced to any regulations.

OF PENNSYLVANIA.

PENNSYLVANIA is inhabited by full two hundred and fifty thousand people, half of whom are Germans, Swedes, or Dutch. Here you see the Quakers, Churchmen, Calvinists, Lutherans, Catholics, Methodists, Menists, Moravians, Independants, the Anabaptists, and the Dumplers, a sort of German sect, that live in something like a religious society, wear long beards, and a habit resembling that of friars. In short, the diversity of people, religions, nations, and languages here, is prodigious, and the harmony in which they live together no less edifying. For, though every man, who wishes well to religion, is sorry to see the diversity which prevails, and would, by all mild and honest methods, endeavour to prevent it; yet, when once the evil has happened, when there is no longer an union of sentiments, it is glorious to preserve at least an union of affections;—it is a beautiful prospect, to see men take and give an equal liberty; to see them live, if not as belonging to the same church, yet as to the same christian religion; and if not to the same religion, yet to the same great fraternity of mankind. I do not observe, that the quakers, who had, and who still have in a great measure, the power in their hands, have made use of it in any sort to persecute; except in the single case of George Keith, whom they first

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imprisoned,

imprisoned, and then banished out of the province. This Keith was originally a minister of the church of England, then a quaker, and afterwards returned to his former ministry. But whilst he remained with the friends, he was a troublesome and litigious man, and was for pushing the particularities of quakerism to yet more extravagant lengths, and for making new refinements, even where the most enthusiastic thought they had gone far enough; which rash and turbulent conduct raised such a storm, as shook the church he then adhered to, to the very foundations.

This little falls into intolerance, as it is a single instance, and with great provocation, ought by no means to be imputed to the principles of the quakers, considering the ample and humane latitude they have allowed in all other respects. It was certainly a very right policy to encourage the importation of foreigners into Pennsylvania, as well as into our other colonies. By this we are great gainers, without any diminution of the inhabitants of Great Britain. But it has been frequently observed, and, as it should seem, very justly complained of, that they are left still foreigners, and likely to continue so for many generations; as they have schools taught, books printed, and even the common news papers in their own language; by which means, and as they possess large tracts of the country without any intermixture of English, there is no appearance of their blending and becoming

coming one people with us. This certainly is a great irregularity, and the greater, as these foreigners, by their industry, frugality, and a hard way of living, in which they greatly exceed our people, have, in a manner, thrust them out in several places ; so as to threaten the colony with the danger of being wholly foreign in language, manners, and perhaps even inclinations. In the year 1750, were imported into Pennsylvania and its dependences, four thousand three hundred and seventeen Germans, whereas, of British and Irish but one thousand arrived ; a considerable number, if it were not so vastly overbalanced by that of the foreigners.

I do by no means think that this sort of transplantations ought to be discouraged ; I would only observe, that the manner of their settlement ought to be otherwise regulated, and means sought to have them naturalized in reality.

The late troubles very unhappily reversed the system so long pursued, and with such great success, in this part of the world. The Pennsylvanians suffered severely by the incursions of the savage Americans as well as their neighbours ; but the quakers could not be prevailed upon, by what did not directly affect those of their own communion (for they were out of the way of mischief in the more settled parts), to relinquish their pacific principles ; for which reason, a considerable opposition, (in which, however, we must do the quakers the justice to observe they were
not

not unanimous) was made, both within their assembly and also without doors, against granting any money to carry on the war ; and the same, or a more vigorous opposition, was made against passing a militia bill. A bill of this kind has at length passed, but scarcely such as the circumstances of the country, and the exigencies of the times, required. It may, perhaps, appear an error, to have placed so great a part of the government in the hands of men who hold opinions directly contrary to its end and design. As a peaceable, industrious, honest people, the quakers cannot be too much cherished ; but surely they cannot themselves complain that, when they value themselves upon non-resistance, they should not be entrusted with cares so opposite to their principles *.

* Mr. Penn, when, for his father's services, and by his own interest at court, he obtained the inheritance of this country and its government, saw that he could make the grant of value to him only, by rendering the country as agreeable to all people, as ease and government could make it. To this purpose, he began by purchasing the soil, at a very low rate indeed, from the original possessors, to whom it was of little use. By this cheap act of justice at the beginning, he made all his dealings for the future the more easy, by prepossessing the Indians with a favourable opinion of him and his designs. The other part of his plan, which was, to people this country, after he had secured the possession of it, he saw much facilitated by the uneasiness of his brethren the quakers in England, who, refusing to pay the tithes and other church dues, suffered a great deal from the spiritual courts. Their high opinion of, and regard for the man, who was an honour to their new church, made

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There are so many good towns in the province of Pennsylvania, even exceeding the capitals of some other provinces, that nothing could excuse passing them by, but Philadelphia's drawing the attention wholly to itself. This city stands upon a tongue of land, immediately at the confluence of two fine rivers, the Delaware and the

them the more ready to follow him over the vast ocean into an untried climate and country. Neither was he himself wanting in any thing which could encourage them. For he expended large sums in transporting and finding them in all necessaries; and, not aiming at a sudden profit, he disposed of his land at a very light purchase. But what crowned all was, that noble charter of privileges, by which he rendered them as free as any people in the world; and which has since drawn such vast numbers, of so many different persuasions and such various countries, to put themselves under the protection of his laws. He made the most perfect freedom, both religious and civil, the basis of this establishment; and this has done more towards the settling of the province, and towards the settling of it in a strong and permanent manner, than the wisest regulations could have done upon any other plan. All persons who profess to believe one God are freely tolerated; — those who believe in Jesus Christ, of whatever denomination, are not excluded from employments and posts.

This great man lived to see an extensive country called after his own name; he lived to see it peopled by his own wisdom, the people free and flourishing, and the most flourishing people in it of his own persuasion; he lived to lay the foundations of a splendid and wealthy city; he lived to see it promise every thing from the situation which he himself had chosen, and the encouragement which he himself had given it; but he died in the Fleet prison.

Schulkiil.

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Schulkil. It is disposed in the form of an oblong, designed to extend two miles from river to river; but the buildings do not extend above a mile and a half on the west side of Delaware in length, and not more than half a mile where the town is broadest. The longest stretch, when the original plan can be fully executed, is to compose eight parallel streets, all of two miles in length: these are to be intersected by sixteen others, each in length a mile, broad, spacious, and even; with proper spaces left for the public buildings, churches, and market-places. In the centre is a square of ten acres, round which, most of the public buildings are disposed. The two principal streets of the city are each one hundred feet wide, and most of the houses have a small garden and orchard. From the rivers are cut several canals, equally agreeable and beneficial. The quays are spacious and fine; the principal one is two hundred feet wide, and to this a vessel of five hundred tons may lay her broadside. The warehouses are large, numerous, and commodious, and the docks for ship-building every way well adapted to their purposes. A great number of vessels have been built here; twenty have been upon the stocks at a time. The city contains, exclusive of warehouses and outhouses, about two thousand houses; most of them of brick, and well built; —it is said, there are several of them worth four or five thousand pounds. The inhabitants are now about thirteen thousand.

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There are in this city a great number of very wealthy merchants; which is no way surprising, when one considers the great trade which it carries on with the English, French, Spanish, and Dutch colonies in America; with the Azores, the Canaries, and the Madeira Islands; with Great Britain and Ireland; with Spain, Portugal, and Holland; and the great profits which are made in many branches of this commerce. Besides the quantity of all kinds of the produce of this province, which is brought down the Rivers Delaware and Schuylkill, (the former of which is navigable, for vessels of one sort or other, more than two hundred miles above Philadelphia) the Dutch employ between eight and nine thousand waggons, drawn each by four horses, in bringing the product of their farms to this market. In the year 1749, three hundred and three vessels were entered inwards at this port, and two hundred and ninety-one cleared outwards. There are, at the other ports of this province, custom-house officers; but the foreign trade in these places is not worth notice.

The city of Philadelphia, though, as it may be judged, is far from completing the original plan, yet, so far as it is built, is carried on conformably to it, and increases in the number and beauty of its buildings every day; and as for the province, of which this city is the capital, there is no part of British America in a more growing condition. In some years, more people have transported them-

felves into Pennsylvania than into all the other settlements together. In 1729, six thousand two hundred and eight persons came to settle here; as passengers or servants, four fifths of whom at least were from Ireland. In short, this province has increased so greatly from the time of its first establishment, that, whereas, lands were given by Mr. Penn, the founder of the colony, at the rate of twenty pounds for a thousand acres, reserving only a shilling every hundred acres for quit-rent, and this in some of the best situated parts of the province: yet now, at a great distance from navigation, land is granted at twelve pounds the hundred acres, and a quit-rent of four shillings reserved; and the land which is near Philadelphia, rents for twenty shillings the acre. In many places, and at the distance of several miles from that city, land sells for twenty years purchase.

The Pennsylvanians are an industrious and hardy people; they are most of them substantial, though but a few of the landed people can be considered as rich; but they are all well lodged, well fed, and, for their condition, well clad too; and this at the more easy rate, as the inferior people manufacture most of their own wear, both linens and woollens. There are but few blacks, in all not the fortieth part of the people of the province.

King Charles the Second's patent of the province of Pennsylvania is dated March 4, 1680, of which an abstract is: "To our trusty and well beloved

“ loved subject, William Penn, Esq. son and heir
 “ of Sir William Penn (deceased) to reduce the sa-
 “ vage nations, by gentle and just manners, to the
 “ love of civil society and the christian religion
 “ (with regard to the memory and merits of his
 “ late father, in divers services, particularly in the
 “ sea-fight against the Dutch 1665, under the
 “ duke of York) to transport an ample colony
 “ towards enlarging the English empire and its
 “ trade, is granted all that track of land in Ame-
 “ rica, bounded eastward on Delaware River from
 “ twelve miles northward of Newcastle, to the forty
 “ third degree of northern latitude, and to extend five
 “ degrees in longitude from the said river; to
 “ be bounded northerly by the beginning of the
 “ forty third degree of northern latitude, and on the
 “ south, by a circle drawn at twelve miles dis-
 “ tance from Newcastle northward, and westward
 “ unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of north-
 “ ern latitude; and then by a strait line westward
 “ to the limits of longitude abovementioned; sav-
 “ ing to us and our successors the allegiance and
 “ sovereignty, to be holden as of our castle of
 “ Windsor, in the county of Berks, paying for quit-
 “ rent two buck-skins to be delivered to us year-
 “ ly, in our castle of Windsor, on the first of Jan-
 “ uary; and the fifth of all gold and silver ore,
 “ clear of all charges. Erected into a province and
 “ seignory, to be called Pennsylvania. The said
 “ William Penn, &c. and his lieutenants, with the
 “ assent

“ assent of a majority of the freemen or their de-
“ legates assembled, to raise money for public uses,
“ to establish judges, justices, and other magis-
“ trates; probate of wills and granting of adminis-
“ trations included; to pardon or remit all crimes
“ and offences committed within the said province,
“ (treason and wilful murder excepted) which,
“ however, they may reprieve until the king’s
“ pleasure be known. The judges by them consti-
“ tuted to hold pleas as well criminal as civil,
“ personal, real, and mixed. Their laws to be con-
“ sonant to reason, and not repugnant to the laws
“ of England, reserving to us, &c. a power to
“ hear and determine upon appeals. In all matters
“ the laws of England to take place, where no
“ positive law of the province appears. A du-
“ plicate of all laws made in the province, shall,
“ within five years, be transmitted to the privy-
“ council; and if, within six months, being there
“ received, they be deemed inconsistent with the
“ prerogative or laws of England, they shall be
“ void. A licence for our subjects to transport
“ themselves and families unto the said country.
“ A liberty to divide the country into towns, hun-
“ dreds, and counties, to incorporate towns into bo-
“ roughs and cities, and to constitute fairs and mar-
“ kets. A liberty of trade with all our other do-
“ minions, paying the customary duties. A power
“ to constitute sea-ports and quays, but to admit
“ of such officers as shall, from time to time, be
“ appointed

" appointed by the commissioners of our customs.
 " The proprietors may receive such impositions
 " upon goods as the assembly shall enact. The
 " proprietors to appoint an agent or attorney to
 " reside near the court in London, to answer for
 " the default of the proprietors; and where da-
 " mages are ascertained by any of our courts, if
 " these damages are not made good within the
 " space of one year, the crown may resume the
 " government, until such damages and penalties are
 " satisfied, but without any detriment to the par-
 " ticular owners or adventurers in the province.
 " To maintain no correspondence with our ene-
 " mies. A power to pursue enemies and robbers
 " even to death and to transfer property, and
 " erect manors, that may hold courts baron. And
 " the crown shall make no taxation or im-
 " position in the said province, without the consent
 " of the proprietary, or assembly, or by act of
 " parliament in England. Any inhabitants, to the
 " number of twenty, may, by writing, apply to
 " the bishop of London for a preacher, or preach-
 " ers."

Besides these, and Mr. Penn's charter of liber-
 ties and privileges to the people, there were some
 other fundamental laws agreed upon in England.
 [" Every resident who pays scot and lot to the go-
 vernment, shall be deemed a freeman capable of
 electing and of being elected. The provincial
 council and general assembly to be sole judges in
 the

the elections of their respective members. Twenty-four men for a grand jury of inquest, and twelve for a petty jury, to be returned by the sheriff. All persons wrongfully imprisoned or prosecuted at law, shall have double damages against the informer or prosecutor. Seven years possession shall give an unquestionable right, excepting in cases of lunatics, infants, married women, and persons beyond the sea. A public register established. The charter granted by William Penn to the inhabitants confirmed. All who acknowledge one Almighty God, shall not be molested in their religious persuasions, in matters of faith and worship, and shall not be compelled to maintain or frequent any religious ministry. Every first day of the week shall be a day of rest. None of these articles shall be altered without consent of the governor or his deputy, and six parts in seven of the freemen met in provincial council and general assembly." This was signed and sealed by the governor and freemen or adventurers, in London, the fifth day of the third month, called May, 1682.

There were certain conditions agreed upon by the proprietor, and the adventurers and purchasers, July 11, 1681; for instance, ["Convenient roads and highways to be laid out before the dividend of acres to the purchasers. Land to be laid out to the purchasers and adventurers by lot. Every thousand acres to settle one family. All dealings with the Indians be to in public market.

“ All differences between the planters and native Indians to be ended by fix planters and fix natives. Laws relating to immorality to be the same as in England. In clearing of land, one acre of trees to be left for every five acres, to preserve oak and mulberries for shipping and silk

“ None to leave the province, without publication thereof in the market-place three weeks before”]

By a new charter from the proprietary the second day of April, in 1683, there are some alterations made in his first charter, principally as to the numbers of the provincial council and assembly.

This charter, as inconvenient, was surrendered to Mr. Penn, in May, in the year 1700 by fix sevenths of the freemen of the province and territories, and a new charter granted. As this is now their standing charter, we shall be more particular. The preamble runs thus :

“ Whereas, king Charles II. granted to William Penn the property and government of the province of Pennsylvania, March 4, 1680; and the duke of York granted to the said Penn the property and government of a track of land, now called the territories of Pennsylvania, August 24, 1683: And whereas, the said William Penn for the encouragement of the settlers, did, in the year 1683, grant and confirm to the free-men, by an instrument intituled, The frame of the government, &c. which charter or frame
“ being

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“ being found, in some part of it, not so suitable
 “ to the present circumstances of the inhabitants,
 “ was delivered up as above, and at the request
 “ of the assembly, another was granted by the pro-
 “ prietary Mr. Penn, in pursuance of the rights
 “ and powers granted him by the crown, confirm-
 “ ing to all the inhabitants their former liberties
 “ and privileges, so far as in him lieth. — First,
 “ No persons who believe in one Almighty God,
 “ and live peaceably under the civil government,
 “ shall be molested in their religious persuasions,
 “ nor compelled to frequent or maintain any re-
 “ ligious worship contrary to their mind. That
 “ all persons who profess to believe in Jesus Christ,
 “ are capable of serving the government in any
 “ capacity, these solemnly promising, when re-
 “ quired, allegiance to the crown, and fidelity to
 “ the proprietor and governor. Secondly, That
 “ annually, upon the first day of October for ever,
 “ there shall an assembly be chosen, to sit on the
 “ fourteenth day of the same month, viz, four
 “ persons out of each county, or a greater num-
 “ ber, as the governor and assembly may, from
 “ time to time, agree, with all the powers and
 “ privileges of an assembly, as is usual in any of
 “ the king’s plantations in America; two thirds
 “ of the whole number that ought to meet shall
 “ be a quorum; to sit upon their own adjourn-
 “ ments. Thirdly, The freemen at their meet-
 “ ing for electing representatives to chuse sheriffs
 “ and

“ and coroners. The justices in the respective
“ counties to nominate clerks of the peace. Fourth-
“ ly, The laws of the government shall be in this
“ style, [By the governor, with the consent and
“ approbation of the freemen in general assembly
“ met.] Fifthly, No person to be licensed by the
“ governor to keep an ordinary or tavern but such
“ as are recommended by the justices of the coun-
“ ty. Sixthly, No alteration to be made in this
“ charter without the consent of the governor and
“ six parts of seven of the assembly met. [Signed Wil-
“ liam Penn at Philadelphia in Pennsylvania, Oc-
“ tober 28, 1701, and the twenty-first year of my
“ government.] Notwithstanding any thing for-
“ merly alledging the province and territories to
“ join together in legislation, Mr. Penn hereby
“ declares, that if at any time hereafter, within
“ three years, their respective assemblies shall not
“ agree to join in legislation, and shall signify the
“ same to me; in such case, the inhabitants of
“ each of the three counties of the province shall
“ not have less than eight representatives, and the
“ town of Philadelphia, when incorporated, shall
“ have two representatives. The inhabitants of
“ each county in the territories shall have as many
“ persons to represent them in a distinct assembly
“ for the territories, as shall be by them requested. Pro-
“ vince and territories shall enjoy the same char-
“ ter, liberties and privileges.”

The report is probable, that Mr. Penn, besides his royal grant of the province of Pennsylvania, had, moreover, a grant of the same from the duke of York, to obviate any pretence, that the province was comprehended in a former royal grant of New Netherlands to the duke of York.

Mr. Penn's first charter concessions, as we have already taken notice of, or form of government to the settlers, constituted a legislature of three negatives, viz. the governor and two distinct houses of representatives chosen by the freemen; one called the provincial council of seventy-two members, the other was called the provincial assembly of two hundred members; the council had an exorbitant power of exclusive deliberating upon, and preparing all bills for the provincial assembly; the executive part of the government was entirely with them. The provincial assembly, in the bills to be enacted, had no deliberative privilege, only a Yes or No; these numbers of provincial council and provincial assembly seem to be extravagantly large for an infant colony. Perhaps he was of opinion with some good politicians, that there can be no general model of civil government; but that the inclinations, and numbers of various societies must be consulted and variously settled:—a small society naturally requires the deliberation and general consent of their freemen for taxation and legislature; when the society becomes too numerous for such universal meetings, a representation or deputation from several districts is
a more

a more convenient and easy administration. His last and present standing charter to the inhabitants of the province and territories of Pennsylvania, October 28, 1701, runs into the other extreme. The council have no negative in the legislature, and only serve as the proprietary's council of advice to the proprietary's governor. In 1746, by act of parliament, the negative of the board of aldermen in London, for certain reasons was abrogated. A council chosen by the people, to negative resolves of representatives also appointed by the people, seems to be a wheel within a wheel, and incongruous; but a council appointed by the court of Great Britain as a negative, seems to be a good policy, by way of controul upon the excesses of the governor on the one hand, and of the people, by their representatives, on the other hand.

The province of Pennsylvania some years since was mortgaged to Mr. Gee, and others, for six thousand six hundred pounds sterling. In the year 1713, Mr. Penn, by agreement, made over all his rights in Pennsylvania to the crown, in consideration of twelve thousand pounds sterling; but before the instrument of surrender was executed, he died apoplectic, and Pennsylvania still remains with the family of the Penns, who reap the advantages which their first founder took so much pains to secure.

BRITISH EMPIRE.

OF MARYLAND.

It was in the reign of Charles the First, that the lord Baltimore applied for a patent for a part of Virginia, and obtained, in 1632, a grant of a track of land upon Chesapeak bay, of about one hundred and forty miles long, and an hundred and thirty broad, having Pennsylvania, then in the hands of the Dutch, upon the north, the Atlantic Ocean upon the east, and the river Potowmack upon the south :—in honour of the queen, he called this province Maryland.

His lordship was a catholic, and had formed his design of making this settlement, in order to enjoy a liberty of conscience, which though the government of England, was by no means disposed to deny him ; yet the rigour of the laws threatened, in a great measure, to deprive him of, the severity of which it was not in the power of the court itself, at that time to relax.

The settlement of the colony cost the lord Baltimore a large sum. It was made, under his auspices, by his brother, and about two hundred persons, Roman catholics, and most of them of good families. This settlement, at the beginning, did not meet with the same difficulties which embarrassed and retarded most of the others we had made. The people were generally of the better sort ; a proper subordination was observed amongst them ;

them ; and the Indians gave and took so little offence, that they ceded one half of their principal town, and some time after, the whole of it, to these strangers. The Indian women taught ours how to make bread of their corn ; their men went out to hunt and fish with the English ; they assisted them in the chase, and sold them the game they took themselves, for a trifling consideration ; so that the new settlers had a sort of town ready built, ground ready cleared for their subsistence, and no enemy to harass them.

They lived thus, without much trouble or fear, until some ill-disposed persons in Virginia insinuated to the Indians, that the Baltimore colony had designs upon them ; that they were Spaniards and not Englishmen ; and such other idle stories as they judged proper to sow the seeds of suspicion and enmity in the minds of these people. Upon the first appearance, that the malice of the Virginians had taken effect, the new planters were not wanting to themselves. They built a good fort with all expedition, and took every other necessary measure for their defence ; but they continued still to treat the Indians with so much kindness, that, partly by that, and partly by the awe of their arms, the ill designs of their enemies were defeated.

As the colony met with so few obstructions, and as the catholics in England were yet more severely treated, in proportion as the court party declined,

declined, numbers constantly arrived to replenish the settlement, which the lord proprietor omitted no care, and withheld no expence, to support and encourage; until the usurpation overturned the government at home, and deprived him of his rights abroad. Maryland remained under the governors appointed by the parliament and by Cromwell until the restoration, when lord Baltimore was re-instated in his former possessions, which he cultivated with his former wisdom, care, and moderation. No people could live in greater ease and security; and his lordship, willing that as many as possible should enjoy the benefits of his mild and equitable administration, gave his consent to an act of assembly, which he had before promoted in his province, for allowing a free and unlimited toleration to all who professed the christian religion, of whatever denomination. This liberty, which was never in the least instance violated, encouraged a great number, not only of the church of England, but of presbyterians, quakers, and all kinds of dissenters, to settle in Maryland, which before that time, was almost wholly in the hands of Roman catholics.

It is said, that king James called in question this nobleman's charter. In king William's time he was deprived of his jurisdiction; but the profits were still left to him; and when his descendants afterwards conformed to the church of England, they were restored to their rights and privileges as
fully

fully as any other proprietors are indulged in them.

When, upon the revolution, power changed hands in that province, the new men made but an indifferent requital for the liberties and indulgences they had enjoyed under the old administration. They not only deprived the harmless catholics of all share in the government, but of all the rights of freemen; but they even adopted the whole body of the penal laws of England against them; they are always meditating new laws in the same spirit, and they would undoubtedly go to the greatest lengths in this respect, if the moderation and good sense of the government in England did not set some bounds to their bigotry, thinking very prudently that it were highly unjust, and equally impolitic, to allow an asylum abroad to any religious persuasions, which they judged it improper to tolerate at home, and then to deprive them of its protection, recollecting and at the same time, in the various changes which our religion and government have undergone, which have in their turns rendered every sort of party and religion obnoxious to the reigning powers, that this American asylum, which has been admitted in the hottest times of persecution at home, has proved of infinite service, not only to the present peace of England, but to the prosperity of its commerce and the establishment of its power. There are a sort of men, who will not see so plain a truth; and they

they are the persons who would appear to contend most warmly for liberty ; but it is only a party liberty for which they contend ; a liberty, which they would stretch out one way only to contract it in another ;—they are not ashamed of using the very same pretences for persecuting others, that their enemies use for persecuting them.

This colony, as for a long time it had with Pennsylvania, the honour of being unstained with any religious persecution, so neither they nor the Pennsylvanians have ever, until very lately, been harrassed by the calamity of any war, offensive or defensive, with their Indian neighbours, with whom they always lived in the most exemplary harmony. Indeed, in a war which the Indians made upon the colony of Virginia, by mistake they made an incursion into the bounds of Maryland ; but they were sensible of their mistake, and atoned for it. But later troubles have since changed every thing, and the Indians have been taught to laugh at their ancient alliances.

Maryland, like Virginia, has no very considerable town ; but Annapolis is the seat of government, which is a small though beautifully situated town, upon the river Severn.

Here is the seat of the governor, and the principal custom-house collection. The people of Maryland have the same established religion with those of Virginia, that of the church of England ; but here the clergy are provided for in a much
more

more liberal manner, and they are the most decent, and the best of the clergy in North America. They export from Maryland the same things in all respects, that they do from Virginia. Their tobacco is about forty thousand hogheads. The white inhabitants are about forty thousand; the negroes upwards of sixty thousand.

OF THE INDIAN NATIONS.

THE North-American natives are, in general, a wild and a faithless set of men. Their manners are a complication of ill-chosen customs, savage, ridiculous, and barbarous. Whatever some may say of their genius, it is certainly not equal to that of the inhabitants of our world; and America is, in this sense, justly styled the younger sister of Europe. The pains taken to instruct these savages in the laws and religion, have been mostly thrown away, and so bigotted are they to their own manner of living, that some of them who have been regularly bred, cloathed, and educated, have thrown away their cloaths, run into the woods forsaken society, and returned to their own barbarous manners, preferring what they foolishly termed Liberty, among their savannahs and vast forests to all the benefits enjoyed in a well-ordered state:

From whence these people were originally derived we have already offered some conjectures. The French were very inquisitive about this matter,

and absolutely employed a civilized Indian in the business of enquiring into it, who, after long travelling, and a variety of adventures, returned, without being able thoroughly to satisfy his curiosity, or that of his employers*.

* M. Le Page du Pratz, being extremely desirous to inform himself of the origin of the American nations, was continually enquiring of the old Indians concerning it, and was at last so fortunate as to meet with an old man, belonging to the nation of the Jazous, called Moncacht-ape, who was a man of sense and genius, and having been possessed with the same curiosity as himself, had spared no pains nor fatigue, to get information of the country from whence the North American nations came. With this view he travelled from nation to nation, expecting to discover the country from whence their fathers had come, or to approach so near it, as to get some surer intelligence and more particular traditions concerning their origin. In this expedition, he spent eight years, and M. Le Page du Pratz, having insinuated himself into his good graces, by all sorts of kindness, had from him the following account.

“ Having lost my wife and children, I resolved to travel, in order to discover our original country, notwithstanding all the persuasions of my parents and relations to the contrary.

“ I took my way by the high-grounds that are on the eastern bank of the river St. Louis, that I might only have the river Ouabache to cross, in order to join the Illinois, at the village of Tamaroua, a considerable settlement of the Canadian French. As the grass was short, I arrived there in a little time. I stayed there eight days to rest myself, and then continued my route along the eastern bank of the same river St. Louis, till I was a little above the place where the River Missouri falls into it.

“ I then made a raft of canes or reeds, and crossed the river St. Louis, and when I was near the opposite side. I f

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The Esquimaux, (which is an Indian word signifying an eater of raw-flesh) are, of all Indians the fiercest, the most mischievous, and untameable. By their beards they are thought originally to pro-

“served my raft to be carried down the stream, till I came to
“the conflux of the two rivers. Here I had the pleasure of
“seeing the rivers mix, and of observing how clear the waters
“of the river St. Louis are, before they receive the muddy
“streams of the Missouri. I landed here, and travelled along
“the north side of the Missouri, for a great many days, till,
“at last, I came to the nation of the Missouris:—with them I
“stayed a considerable time, not only to repose myself after
“my fatigue, but also to learn their language, which is spoken
“or understood by a great many nations. In this country
“one scarce sees any thing but large meads, above a day’s jour-
“ney, and covered with large cattle. The Missouris seldom
“eat any thing but flesh;—they only cultivate as much maize
“as may serve for a change, and prevent their being cloyed
“with beef and game, with which their country abounds. Du-
“ring the winter, which I spent with them, the snow fell to
“the depth of six feet.

“As soon as the winter was over, I resumed my journey
“along the banks of the Missouri, and travelled till I came
“to the nation of the west. There I was told, that it was a
“long journey to the country, from whence both they and we
“came; that I must yet travel during the space of a moon
“[a month] towards the source of the Missouri, that then I
“should turn to the right, and go directly north, and, at the
“end of a few days, I should meet with another river, which
“ran from east to west, quite contrary to the course of the
“Missouri; then I might fall down this river at my ease upon
“rafts, until I came to the nation of the Loutres, or Otters,
“where I might rest, and receive more ample and particular
“instructions.

ceed from Greenland, and they have something excessively shocking in their air and mien. Their stature is advantageous and their skin is white, because they never go naked.—They wear a kind of

“ In pursuance of these directions, I travelled up the Mis-
 “ souri, above a month, being afraid of turning off to the right
 “ too soon: when one night after I had kindled my fire, and
 “ was going to rest, I perceived some smoke at a distance, to-
 “ wards the place where the sun set; I immediately concluded
 “ that this was a party of hunters, who proposed to pass the
 “ night there, and that probably they might be of the nation
 “ of the Loutres. I immediately made towards them, and
 “ found about thirty men and some women. They seemed to
 “ be surprised, but received me civilly enough. We could only
 “ understand each other by signs. After I had been with them
 “ three days, one of the women being near her delivery, she
 “ and her husband left the company, in order to return home
 “ by the easiest road, and took me along with them.

“ We travelled yet up the Missouri seven easy days journey,
 “ and then went directly north for five days, at the end of
 “ which time we came to a river of very fine, clear water.
 “ When we came to the place where the hunters had left their
 “ canoes, we all three embarked in one of them, and fell down
 “ the river till we came to their village. I was very well
 “ received by them, and soon found that this was indeed the
 “ nation of the Loutres, which I was in quest of. I spent the
 “ winter with them, and employed myself in learning their lan-
 “ guage, which they told me was understood by all the nations,
 “ which lay between them and the great water.

“ The winter was scarcely ended, when I embarked in a canoe
 “ with some provisions, a pot to cook them, and something to
 “ lie on, and descended the river. In a little time, I came
 “ to a very small nation, whose chief happening to be upon the
 “ banks, bluntly demanded—Who art thou? What business hast
 shirt

shirt made of bladders, or the intestines of fish, neatly sewed together; above this they wear a furtout made of a bear's, or some other skin. To the shirt is fixed a cowl or hood, which covers the

“ thou here with thy short hairs?— I told him my name was
 “ Moncacht-ape, that I came from the nation of the Loutres,
 “ that though my hair was short, my heart was good, and then
 “ hinted the design of my journey. He replied, that though I
 “ might come from the nation of the Loutres, he saw plainly
 “ I was not one of that nation, and wondered at my speaking
 “ the language. I told him that I had learned it of an old man;
 “ whose name was Salt-tear. He no sooner heard the name
 “ of Salt-tear, who was one of his friends, than he invited me
 “ to stay in his village as long as I would. Upon this I land-
 “ ed, and told him, that Salt-tear had ordered me to see an old
 “ man, whose name was the Great Roebuck. This happened
 “ to be the father of the chief: he ordered him to be called,
 “ and the old man received me as if I had been his own son,
 “ and led me to his cottage.

“ The next day he informed me of every thing I wanted to
 “ know, and told me that I should be very hospitably received
 “ by all the nations between them and the great water, on
 “ telling them I was the friend of the Great Roebuck. I only
 “ stayed two days longer : I then put on board my canoe a stock
 “ of provision, prepared from certain small grains, less than
 “ French pease, which afford an excellent food, and immediate-
 “ ly embarked, and continued to sail down the river, not stay-
 “ ing above a day with each nation I met with in my way.

“ The last of these nations is settled about a day's journey
 “ from the sea, and about the race of a man [near a league]
 “ from the river. They live concealed in the woods for fear
 “ of the bearded men. I was received by them as if I had
 “ been one of their own countrymen. They are continually
 “ upon their guard, on account of the bearded men, who do
 head,

head, and terminates in a tuft of hair that hangs down over their foreheads :—their shirt falls no lower than their loins, and their furtout hangs lower behind; but that of the woman descends to her

“ all they can to carry off young people, without doubt, to
 “ make them slaves. They told me these bearded men were
 “ whites, that they had a long black beard, which fell down
 “ upon their breast, that their bodies were thick and short, that
 “ their heads were large, and covered with stuffs, that they
 “ were always cloathed, even in the hottest seasons, and that
 “ their cloaths reached to the middle of their legs, which, as
 “ well as their feet, were also covered with red or yellow
 “ stuffs; that their weapons made a great noise, and a great fire,
 “ and that when they saw the red men [the natives] were more
 “ numerous than themselves, they retired to a great canoe [a
 “ small ship, without doubt] which contained about thirty of
 “ them. They added, that these strangers came from the place
 “ where the sun sets [the west] in quest of a soft yellow wood,
 “ which yields a yellow liquor of a fine smell, and which dyes
 “ a fine yellow colour; and that observing they came every year
 “ as soon as winter was over to fetch this wood, they had, ac-
 “ cording to the advice of one of their old men, cut down and
 “ destroyed all the trees, since which time they had not been
 “ so often troubled with the visits of these bearded men; but
 “ that they still visited every year two adjacent nations, who
 “ could not imitate their policy, because the yellow wood was
 “ the only wood their country produced; and that all the neigh-
 “ bouring nations had agreed to arm and join together, the
 “ approaching summer, in order to destroy those bearded men, at
 “ their next coming, and rid the country of them.

“ As I had seen fire-arms, and was not afraid of them, and
 “ as the route they purposed to take was the way to the nation
 “ I was in quest of, they proposing my going along with them,
 “ I readily agreed, and as soon as summer came, I marched
 mid-leg;

mid-leg; the men wear breeches made of skins with the hair inwards, and faced on the outside with furs or ermine. They likewise wear pumps or shoes, made of skins, and boots of the same

“ with the warriors of this nation to the general rendezvous.
“ The bearded men came later than usual this year. While we
“ waited for them, the natives shewed me the place where they
“ used to lay their great canoe [the ship.] It was be-
“ tween two high and long rocks, which formed the mouth of
“ a shallow river, the banks whereof were covered with yel-
“ low wood. It was agreed to lie in ambush for the bearded
“ men, and that when they had landed, and were busy in cutting
“ the yellow wood, we should rise, surround them, and cut
“ them off. At the end of seventeen days, two great canoes
“ appeared, and they came to their usual place between the
“ rocks. The first thing the bearded men did after their arrival,
“ (for there were two men privately placed upon the rocks to
“ observe them) was to fill certain wooden vessels with water.
“ At the end of the fourth day they armed and landed, and
“ went to cut wood. They had no sooner begun to cut than
“ they were attacked on all sides, but notwithstanding our ut-
“ most efforts, we killed but eleven, all the rest gained their
“ little canoes, and fled to their great ones, which soon
“ launched into the great water, and disappeared.

“ Upon examining the dead, I found them to be less than we
“ are, and very white; their bodies were thick, and their heads
“ large: about the middle of their head their hair was long.
“ They wore no hats as you do, but had their heads bound
“ about with a great deal of some sort of stuff; their cloaths
“ were neither of wool nor bark, but of something like your
“ old shirts, very soft and fine, and of different colours, [silk
“ without doubt.] The covers of their legs and feet were all
“ of a piece: I endeavoured to put on one of them; but my
above

above them, and, over those, other pumps and boots, with the hairy side always inwards, and they are sometimes shod three or four times in that manner. Their weapons are arrows, pointed with

“ feet were too large. Of the eleven that were killed, only
“ two had fire-arms, powder and ball. I tried these pieces, and
“ found they did not carry so far as yours: their powder was
“ mixed of three sorts of grain, large, middle, and fine; but
“ the large made the greatest part.

“ These were the remarks I made upon the bearded men, after
“ which, leaving the warriors with whom I came, to return
“ home, I joined those nations, who were settled upon the
“ coast, farther towards the west; and we followed the course of
“ the coast, which is directly between the north and the west.
“ When we came to their settlements, I observed that the days
“ were a great deal longer than with us, and the nights very
“ short. I asked them the reason of it, but they could give me
“ none. I rested with them a considerable time. Their old
“ men told me that it was in vain for me to proceed any far-
“ ther. They said, that the coast extended itself yet a great way
“ between the north and west; that it afterwards turned short to
“ the west, and having run, for a considerable distance, in that
“ direction, it was cut by the sea directly from north to south.
“ One of them added, that, at low water, one might see
“ easily rocks and shallows in the channel, which had for-
“ merly been dry land. They all joined to dissuade me from
“ travelling any farther, assuring me, that the country was cold
“ and desert, destitute of animals and inhabitants, and advised
“ me to return to my own country. I accordingly took their
“ advice, and returned by the way that I came.

“ Such is the account Moncacht-ape gave of his travels,
“ and M. Le Page du Pratz observes, that the good sense and
the

the teeth of a sea-cow, or, when they can procure it, with iron; they are very active, and all the summer live in the open air, and in winter they lie promiscuously in caverns. On the south of Hudson's Bay, being the western part of Canada, lies a vast track of unknown countries, inhabited by nations to which we are strangers. The French mention the Mataffins, the Mosonis, the Christinaux, and Affiniboils. The latter have a dialect of their own, and are thought to inhabit a very distant country; the other three speak the Algonquin language. The Christinaux live to the northward of Lake Superior. The Indians in the neighbourhood of the River Bourbon, and those on the River St. Teresa, differ intirely in their language; but it is said, that a hundred leagues from the mouth of this river, it is unnavigable for fifty more; but that a passage is found by means of rivers and lakes which fall into it, and that afterwards it runs through the middle of a very fine country, which continues as far as the lake of the

“ and probity of the man, left him but little room to
 “ doubt of the truth of it. He also thinks it probable that the
 “ bearded men are the inhabitants of some isles in the neigh-
 “ bourhood of Japan. The distance, in a strait line, from the
 “ Yazous to the farthest nation Moncacht-ape visited, upon the
 “ shores of the north-western ocean, according to the best esti-
 “ mate M. du Pratz could make, from the number of his days
 “ journeys, and rate of travelling, seems to be about a hundred
 “ leagues.”

VOL. I.

K k

Affiniboils,

Affiniboils, from whence the river takes its rise. Those Indians are extremely superstitious, and, like the other Indians of Canada;—they have notions of a good and an evil genius; and believe the sun to be the great divinity of the world. They have even a species of sacrifices, and when they deliberate upon any matter of importance, their councils are attended with several solemnities. They assemble at the house or cabin of some of their chiefs by break of day, and the master of it, after lighting his pipe, presents it three times to the rising sun; he then turns it with both his hands, from the east towards the west, and invokes the favour of the deity. These nations, though various and distinct from each other, generally go under the name of Savannois, because of the savannahs, or low lying grounds, which they inhabit.

The Savannois are often at war with a kind of Indians, inhabiting the banks of the Danish River and the Sea-wolf River, to the north of Hudson's Bay, which go by the name of Flat-sided Dogs; but it is observed, that such wars are not attended with those circumstances of horror and cruelty as amongst the other Canadians, for they are contented with keeping one another's captives in prison. The Savannois have a notion of a future state; they think that a man who dies old, is born again in the other world at the age of a sucking child, and that if a man goes young out of the world, when he arrives at
the

the country of souls, he becomes old. Either their natural indolence, or the barrenness of their country, renders the life of the Savannois so miserable, that when their hunting season is over, they are destitute of provisions, and some have even said that they eat their own species. Their doctrine of transmigration has a very singular effect, for when a man grows old, so as to be a burden both to himself and his family, he fixes a rope about his neck, and presents the two extremities of it to the son he loves best, who instantly strangles him with the utmost alacrity. The son-in-law is obliged to live with the father-in-law in a kind of servitude till he has children; and their marriages are always made with the consent of their parents. They burn their dead bodies, and, after wrapping the ashes in the bark of a tree, they bury them in the ground, and raise a monument to the deceased, to which they affix tobacco, and if he was a hunter, his bow and arrows; for, with all the barbarians in almost every part of the globe, they believe that the deceased are fond of the same enjoyments in the next world, that gave them delight in this. The character of a hunter is with them equal to that of a warrior, and the candidate takes a degree in it much in the nature of that of the ancient knights errant. To qualify himself for this degree, the candidate's face must be painted with black, and for three days he must taste nothing; a

feast is then prepared, and a morsel of each of the animals, commonly the tongue and muzzle, which on other occasions is the perquisite of the hunter himself, is offered up as a sacrifice to the great spirit. As to the character of those Indians, they are said to be a disinterested kind of people, and to hate lying.

In all the vast extent of Canada, there are but three radical or mother tongues, the Sioux, Algonquin and Huron. As to the first, it is impossible to say how far it extends; and neither the French nor English are much acquainted with those who speak it. In their manner of life, all we know is that they greatly resemble the Tartars; for they wander from place to place, but generally dwell in meadows, under large tents of well wrought skins.—Their food is wild oats, and the flesh of the buffalo. It is thought, by their situation, and their roving disposition, as well as the commerce they carry on, that the Sioux, which name is a contraction of the word Nadocceffieux, know more than any other people of the western parts of North America, to which the Europeans are still so much strangers. They cut off the tips of their noses, and part of the skin upon the top of their heads, and some imagine that they greatly resemble the Chinese in their accent and language. Before the Iroquois forced the Hurons and Outawas to take refuge amongst the Sioux, the latter were a harmless people; and though the
most

most populous of all the Indian nations, till they became warlike by their intercourse with those two people, they knew little of the use of arms.

The Assiniboils inhabit the borders of a lake of that name, of which the Europeans know very little. This, perhaps, is the reason why so many wonders are reported of it. Probably it is the reservoir or source of the greatest rivers and lakes in North America; but it is certain that it is next to inaccessible by reason of the mountains and woods which surround it; though its circumference is six hundred leagues. Though it lies to the north-west of Lake Superior, the climate is said to be mild. The natives report that men are settled in their neighbourhood, resembling Europeans, and in a country where gold and silver is put to the most common uses, but all these stories are very uncertain. As to the Assiniboils themselves, they are remarkably phlegmatic; and in this they differ from their neighbours the Christinaux, who are the most volatile and talkative of all the Indians, being perpetually dancing and singing. The Assiniboils are great travellers, formed for fatigue, tall and robust in their persons.

By an acquaintance with the Algonquin and Huron languages, a person may travel one thousand five hundred leagues in this country without an interpreter; for though he may visit above one hundred different nations, each of which has a particular idiom, yet he can make himself understood by

y all ; and even amongst the Indians of New England and Virginia. Towards the north of the island of Montreal the country is thinly peopled ; but a few villages belonging to the old inhabitants are still to be met with. Mention is made, particularly, of the Nipissings, so called from a lake of that name, who are the descendants of the Algonquins, and still preserve the purity of that language. As to the Outawas, though formerly a numerous nation, few of them are now to be met with. The French established some posts on the banks of Lake Superior, where they carried on trade with the Christinaux and Assiniboils. In short, a traveller can know very little of this country from the observations he may make in his journeys. He may wander over thousands of miles on the banks of the finest lakes and rivers in the world, without meeting with a human creature ; and those he does meet, are generally so stupid, so cruel, so barbarous or shy, as scarcely to deserve that denomination. The few Algonquin nations still to be seen appear to be void of all notions of agriculture, and subsist upon fishing and hunting ; and these daily decrease in populousness, though they allow themselves a plurality of wives. Few or none of their nations contain above six thousand people, and many of them not two thousand.

The Indians to the southward of the river St. Laurence, as far as Virginia, speak the Huron language,

language, though it is certain, a different dialect is used in almost every village ; even the five nations or cantons, which form the Iroquois commonwealth, have each a different pronunciation. It is observed, that the three radical languages we have mentioned have annexed to them three different original properties. The Sioux, so far as the Europeans are acquainted with it, is rather a hissing than an articulation of words. The Huron language has great energy, pathos, and elevation. The missionaries do not even scruple to compare it with the finest language that is known. Many have surmised, that it has a common origin with the Greek tongue, and that words of a similar sound and signification occur in both. This, if true, would bid fair to derive the Iroquois and the Hurons from the Celts, whose language was the mother of the Greek ; but the Algonquin tongue excels that of the Hurons in smoothness and elegance. There is an evident partiality in the French missionaries, in favour of the Huron nation. According to them, the true Hurons, who are called Tionnonatez, and who appear to have been a prerogative tribe amongst those Indians, have an hereditary chieftainship answering to the European royalty, and their police and form of government is more rational and regular than those of the other Indian nations, who likewise fall short of them in fortifying and improving their land, and in their buildings.

buildings. They did not admit of polygamy; and yet they were more populous than any of their neighbouring tribes, and they were in every respect more social and better polished than their neighbours.—But in vain have all European authors searched for the maxims, and even the forms by which these people govern themselves. The true Hurons are now reduced to two middling villages at a great distance from each other, and yet they govern the councils of all the Indian nations round them. But, notwithstanding all that the French say of this favourite race, they seem to have been inferior in war to the Iroquois; and this makes it necessary to give some account of those two nations immediately before the French settlement at Quebec; for, as they have no historical monuments, we cannot be expected to give any certain accounts of them till near that period.

Some years before the time we speak of, the Iroquois had made a league with the Algonquins, who possessed great tracks of land near Quebec, possibly from Tadoussac to the lake Nipissing, and all along the north shore of the river St. Lawrence. The Algonquins had no rivals in all North America, as hunters and warriors, the only two manly characters that those barbarians have any idea of. In the alliance between those two people the Algonquins were obliged to protect the Iroquois from all invaders, and to let them have a share of their venison. The Iroquois, on the other hand,

land, were to pay a tribute out of the culture of the earth to their allies, and to perform for them all the labours of agriculture and the menial duties, such as flaying the game, curing the flesh, and dressing the skins. By this compromise it is plain, that the Algonquin nation had the post of honour; but the Iroquois at last came to be piqued at the small esteem in which they thought their neighbours held them. By degrees they associated in the hunting matches and warlike expeditions of the Algonquins, who, at first, were far from having any jealousy of them; but, in process of time, the Iroquois began to fancy themselves as well qualified as the Algonquins were, both for war and hunting. One winter, a large detachment of both the nations went out a hunting, and when they thought they had secured a vast quantity of game, six young Algonquins, and as many Iroquois were sent out to begin the slaughter. The Algonquins by this time, probably, had become a little jealous of their associates, and, upon seeing a few elks, wanted them to go back, on pretence that the Iroquois would have employment sufficient in flaying the game they should kill. The six Algonquins, however, after three days hunting, killed none, on which the Iroquois exulted, and in a day or two they privately set out to hunt by themselves, being provoked by the reproaches of the Algonquins for their inferiority. The Algonquins finding the Iroquois gone, and seeing them at night

return laden with game, conceived so violent a hatred against them, that, before morning, they butchered all the Iroquois who were in the expedition. This bloody massacre was the effect of that capricious jealousy of which those barbarians in general are so susceptible. In vain did the Iroquois demand satisfaction, for they received nothing but insults; so great was the contempt the Algonquins had for them. Exasperated by this treatment, and yet afraid to try their strength with the Algonquins, they stifled their resentment; and to enure themselves to war, they fell upon other less powerful nations, till, in a short time, they became so well practised in the art of blood, (for war it ought not to be called) that they thought themselves a match for the Algonquins, and fell upon them with a fury, which shewed as if they could be satiated with nothing less than the extermination of the Algonquin race.

The Hurons could not be neutral; for their country was environed by those of the two belligerent powers; they therefore took part with the Algonquins, and the war was carried on, on the part of the exasperated Iroquois, with diabolical fury. The Iroquois, it is true, were generally victorious: but no quarter being given on either side, the war threatened an utter extinction of all the three nations. Amongst those barbarians no victory can be decisive: for the numbers in which they fight, are seldom above three or four hundred

dred on a side, and every thing being done by surprise, the inhabitants of a whole village, even of the conquering party, may be cut off all at once. Bloodshed and losses serve only to exasperate them, and the victors seek death and danger at such distances from their own homes, that conquest itself is sure to diminish their numbers. It is at this period of time, that we are properly to take up the history of Canada, which begins with its first discovery, while those wars between the Iroquois, the Algonquins, which we have spoken of, and Hurons were raging.

And here we think it proper to subjoin the description given by father Marquette, a French writer of the tribe of Indians, known by the name of Illinois, who differ in many respects from the Iroquois and other nations of North America;—and with this account we shall conclude the section.

The word Illinois, in their language, signifies men, as if they should look upon the other savages as beasts; and, truly, it may be confessed, that they are not altogether in the wrong, for they have more humanity than most of the other Indian nations, and also differ from them in many of the customs and manners which they adopt.

They are divided into several villages, whereof some are remote from those that I have seen, they call them Perouarea. But as they live so far

one from the other, their language is also very different: however, it is a dialect of the Algonquin, and these latter are able to understand what they say, and to converse with them. They are good-natured men, tractable and easy. They keep several wives, and yet they are exceedingly jealous; they observe with great care their behaviour, and if they find them in any fault as to their chastity, they cut their noses and ears; and there are several of them, who carry upon their faces these marks of their infidelity.

The Illinois are very well shaped, and very dextrous. They are good marks-men with their arrows and small guns, with which they are supplied by the savages, and have a commerce with the Europeans. This makes them formidable to other nations, inhabiting to the westward, who have no arms. The Illinois knowing how much these are frightened at the noise of their guns, make excursions very far to the westward, and being slaves from thence, which they barter with other Indians for the commodities they want. Those nations are altogether ignorant of iron tools, and their knives, axes, and other instruments, are made of flints, and other sharp stones. When the Illinois go upon any expedition, the whole village must have notice of it, and therefore they use to make an out-cry at the door of their huts the evening before they go, and the morning they are to set out. Their captains are distinguished from

from the soldiers by certain scarffs, made with the hair of bears, or wild oxen, that are curiously wrought. They have abundance of game; and their soil is so fertile, that their Indian corn seldom fails, and therefore they seldom suffer by famine. They sow beans and melons, which are excellent, and especially those whose seed is red.

Their cabins are very large;—they are made, covered, and paved, with mats of marsh rushes. Their dishes are of wood, but their spoons are made with the bones of the skulls of wild oxen, which they cut so as to render them very convenient to eat their sagamite, or pottage. They have physicians, towards whom they are very liberal when they are sick, thinking that the operation of the remedies they take, is proportionable to the presents they make to those who have prescribed them. They have no other cloaths but the skins of beasts. By an extraordinary superstition, some of the Illinois and Nadonesians wear women's apparel. When they have taken the same, which they do in their youth, they never leave it off; and certainly there must be some mystery in this matter; for they never marry, and work in the cabins with women, which other men think it below them to do. They may go, however, to the wars; but they must use only a club, and not bows and arrows, which are fit, as they say, only for men. They assist at all the superstitions of their jugglers, and their solemn dances in honour of the Calumet, at which they

they may sing, but it is not lawful for them to dance. They are called to their councils, and nothing is determined without their advice; for because of their extraordinary way of living, they are generally looked upon as great and incomparable genii.

The Calumet, is the most extraordinary thing in the world. The sceptres of our kings are not so much respected; for the savages have such a deference for this pipe, that they seem to think it the god of peace, and war, and the arbiter of life and death. One, with this Calumet, may venture among his enemies and in the hottest engagements, they lay down their arms before the sacred pipe. Their Calumet of peace is different from that of war. They make use of the former to seal their alliances and treaties, to travel with safety, and receive strangers; and the other is to proclaim war. It is made of a red stone, like our marble; the head is like our common tobacco pipes, but larger; and it is fixed to a hollow reed to hold it for smoking. They adorn it with fine feathers of several colours, and they called it the Calumet of the sun, to whom they present it, especially when they want a change of weather, thinking that that planet can have no less respect for it than men have, and therefore that they shall obtain their desires. They dare not wash themselves in rivers in the beginning of the summer, or taste the new fruit of trees, before they

they have danced the calumet, which they do in the following manner:

This dance of the calumet is a solemn ceremony amongst the savages, which they perform upon important occasions, to confirm an alliance, or to make peace with their neighbours. They use it also to entertain any nation that comes to visit them; and, in this case, we may consider it as their ball. They perform it in winter time in their cabins, and in open fields in the summer. They chuse for this purpose, a set place among trees, to shelter themselves against the heat of the sun, and lay in the middle a large mat as a carpet, setting upon it the god of the chief of the company who give the ball; for every one has his peculiar god, whom they call manitoa: it is sometimes a stone, a bird, a serpent, or any thing else that they dream of in their sleep; for they think that this manitoa will prosper their undertakings, as fishing, hunting, and other enterprises. To the right of their manitoa, they place the calumet, as their great deity, making round about it, a kind of trophy with their arms. All things being thus disposed, and the hour of dancing coming on, those who are to sing take the most honourable seats under the shade of the trees, or the green arbours they make, in case the trees be not thick enough to shade them. Every body sits down afterwards round about, as they come, having first of all saluted the manitoa, which they do by blowing the

the smoke of their tobacco upon it; afterwards every one of the company, in his turn, takes the calumet, and, holding it with both his hands, dances with it, following the cadence of the songs.

This *preludium* being over, he who is to begin the dance appears in the middle of the assembly, and, having taken the calumet, presents it to the sun, as if he would invite him to smoke; then he moves it into an infinite number of postures, sometimes laying it near the ground, then stretching its wings as if he would make it fly, and then presenting it to the spectators, who smoke with it one after another, dancing all the while. This is the first scene of this savage ball. The second is a fight with vocal and instrumental music (for they have a kind of drum, which agrees pretty well with the voices). The person who dances with the calumet, gives a signal to one of their warriors, who takes a bow and arrows with an axe, from the trophies already mentioned, and fights the other, who defends himself with the calumet alone, both of them dancing all the while. The fight being over, he who holds the calumet makes a speech, wherein he gives an account of the battles he has fought, and the prisoners he has taken, and then receives a gown, or some other present from the chief of the ball: he then gives the calumet another, who having acted his part, delivers it a third, and so to all the others, till the calur returns to the captain, who presents it to the nat

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invited unto the feast, as a mark of their friendship, and a confirmation of their alliances.

Such is the account of the ceremonies of these people, which, for their oddity, we thought worth presenting to the reader, and with which we shall conclude, for the present, our account of the Indian nations inhabiting North America, and proceed to speak of the French settlement of Canada, now, both by conquest and cession, become a province of the British empire.

OF CANADA.

CABOT, the famous Italian adventurer, who sailed under a commission from Henry the Seventh of England, was the first who discovered that vast extent of country, that now goes under the name of Canada; but the frugal maxims of that prince, probably, hindered his making any regular settlement there. The discovery, however, took air, and we find the French fishing for cod on the banks of Newfoundland, and along the sea-coast of Canada, in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Nay, about the year 1506, one Denys, a Frenchman, drew a map of the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and within about two years, Aubert, a ship-master of Dieppe, carried over to France some of the natives of Canada. Some time after, the Spanish conquests in South America began to make a great noise all over Europe; but the disco-

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very of this new country not promising the same amazing mines of gold and silver that Peru and Mexico contained, the French, for some years, seem to have entirely neglected it. Francis I. of France, a sensible and enterprising prince, at last, in the year 1523, sent four ships, under the command of Verazani, a Florentine, to prosecute discoveries in that country. We are in the dark as to the particulars of Verazani's first expedition. All we know is, that he returned to France, and the next year he undertook a second, in which he touched at the island of Madeira, from whence he directed his course to the American coast. In approaching it, he met with a violent storm; but came so near the coast, that he saw the natives on shore, and could discern them making friendly signs inviting him to land. This being found impracticable, by reason of the surf upon the coast, one of the sailors threw himself into the sea; but, endeavouring to swim back to the ship, a surge threw him on shore, without signs of life. He was, however, treated by the natives with such care and humanity, that he recovered his strength, and was suffered to swim back to the ship, which immediately returned to France; and this is all that is known of Verazani's second voyage. After this, he embarked on the third expedition, but was no more heard of; and it is thought that he and all his company perished before he could form any colony.

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Though Canada gave the French no assurance of gold, silver, or diamond mines, yet they knew enough of the country to be sensible of the vast importance to which it might arrive. Not discouraged, therefore, by Verazani's want of success, one Jaques Cartier, a native of St. Malo, in April, 1534, set sail, under a commission from the French king, and, on the tenth of May following, he arrived at Cape Bonavista in Newfoundland. He had with him two small ships, containing one hundred and twenty-two men, and he cruised along the coast of Newfoundland, on which he discerned inhabitants, probably the Esquimaux, in the dress we have described. But though he found many commodious harbours, yet the land was so uninviting, and the climate so cold, that he set sail for the gulph, and entered the Bay of Chaleurs, or Heats, as he called it, on account of the sultry weather he then met with. This bay is by some called Spanish Bay. Leaving it, Cartier landed at several other places along the coast of the gulph, and took possession of the country in the name of his most Christian majesty—a cheap method of obtaining dominion.—Returning to France, that monarch, upon his report, in 1535, gave him a commission, and sent him out with a large force. After meeting with various storms and separations, the three ships he had with him rendezvoused in the gulph; but he was compelled by a tempest to take refuge in the port of St.

Nicholas. From thence he sailed, on the tenth of August, and gave the gulph the name of St. Laurence, from his entering it on the day of that festival; and the river now retains the same name. Passing by the isle of Anticosti, to which he gave the name of Assumption, he sailed up the river Saguenay, and anchored by a small island to which he gave the name of Coudres, or Hazels, from the numbers of those trees growing upon it. Returning from thence, and proceeding up the river St. Laurence, he came to an island so full of vines, that he called it the isle of Bacchus; but it now goes by the name of Orleans. He had, the last time he was in Canada, the precaution to carry two Americans with him to France, where they learned as much of the language as enabled them to serve for interpreters between him and their countrymen. Sailing up a small river, he had an interview with an Indian chief called Donnacona, and he then heard of an Indian town, called Hochelaga, which was, as it were, the metropolis of the whole country, lying on an island, now known by the name of Montreal, provided with some kind of palisadoes, and other works sufficient to defend it against a sudden attack. The inhabitants probably were the Hurons, whom we have already mentioned, and they treated Cartier and his attendants with an equal degree of hospitality and astonishment at their persons, dress, and accoutrements. He had at this time with him only one ship, and two long boats, having left the rest at
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St. Croix, to which he returned, and there spent the winter, which proved so severe, that he and his people must have perished of the scurvy, had they not, by the advice of the natives, made use of a decoction of the bark and tops of the white pine. Cartier was ungenerous enough to kidnap his Indian friend, Donnacona, and to carry him, in the spring, to France. But, not being able to produce gold and silver, all he said about the utility of the settlement, and the fruitfulness of the country was despised by the public; so that in the year 1540, he was obliged to serve as pilot to monsieur de Roberval, who was by the French king appointed viceroy of Canada, and who sailed from France with five vessels. Arriving in the Gulph of St. Laurence, they built a fort, and Roberval left Cartier to command a garrison in it, and went back in person to France, from whence he returned with additional recruits to his new settlement. He afterwards sailed up the river St. Laurence, as far as that of Saguenay, where, by means of a Portuguese, he endeavoured, but in vain, to find out a north-west passage to the East Indies. The expeditions and captivity of Francis I. for some time, diverted the attention of the French from improving this settlement; but in 1549, Roberval and his brother, of whom we have a great character, with a numerous train of adventurers, embarked for the river St. Laurence, and never were heard of more.

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This fatal accident discouraged the public, and government of France so greatly, that for fifty years no measures were taken for supplying the French settlers that still remained in Canada. At last, Henry IV. appointed the marquis de la Roche, a Breton gentleman, lieutenant-general of Canada, Hochelaga, Newfoundland, Labrador, and the bay and river of St. Laurence. This gentleman set sail in a ship from France, in the year 1598, and landed on the Isle of Sable, which lies about fifty leagues to the south-east of Cape Breton, and thirty-five eastward of Canso. The marquis absurdly thought this to be a proper place for erecting a settlement but no place could be more unfit for it than this was, being small, and without any port, producing nothing but briars. It is narrow, and has the shape of a bow. In the middle of it is a lake about five leagues in compass, and the isle itself is about ten. It has a sand-bank at each end, one of which runs north-east and by east, and the other south-east. It has sand-hills, which may be seen seven or eight leagues off. The history of the settlers contains the history of this expedition. The marquis, after cruising for some time on the coast of Nova Scotia, returned to France, without being able to carry them off the miserable island; and there he died of grief for having lost all his interest at that court. As for his wretched colony, they must have perished had not a French ship been wrecked upon the island, and a few sheep driven upon it at the same time.

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With the boards of the wreck they erected huts ; with the sheep they supported nature, and when they had eat them up they lived on fish ; but their cloaths wearing out, they made coats of seals-skins, and in this miserable condition they spent seven years, when Henry IV. ordered Chetodel, who had been pilot to La Roche to bring them to France. Chetodel found only twelve of them alive, and when he returned, Henry had the curiosity to see them in their seal-skin dresses ; and their appearance moved him so much, that he ordered them a general pardon for their offences, and gave each of them fifty crowns to begin the world with anew.

Though La Roche's patent had been very ample and exclusive, yet private adventurers had still traded to the river St. Laurence, without any notice being taken of them by the government. Amongst others was one Pontgravé, a merchant of St. Malo, who had made several trading voyages for furs to Tadoussac. Upon the death of La Roche, his patent was renewed in favour of Chauvin, a commander in the French navy, and he put himself under the direction of Pontgravé. In the year 1600, Chauvin, attended by him, made a voyage to Tadoussac, where he left some of his people, and returned with a very gainful quantity of furs to France. Next year he renewed the same voyage with the like good fortune, but he died while he was preparing for the third. The many specimens
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of profit to be made by the Canadian trade, had led the French to think favourably of it ; and de Chatte, the governor of Dieppe, succeeded Chauvin, as governor of Canada. De Chatte's scheme seems to have been, to have carried on that trade with France by a company of Rouen merchants and adventurers. An armament for this purpose was accordingly equipped, and the command of it given to Pontgravé, with powers to extend his discoveries up the River St. Laurence. Pontgravé with his squadron sailed in 1603, having in his company Samuel Champlain, afterwards the famous founder of Quebec, who had been a captain in the navy, and was a man of parts and spirit. Arriving at Tadoussac they left their ships there, and in a long-boat they proceeded up the river as far as the Falls of St. Louis, and then returned to France. By this time de Chatte was dead, and was succeeded in his patent by the Sieur De Monts, whose commission for an exclusive fur-trade extended from forty to fifty-five degrees of north latitude, that is, from Virginia almost to the top of Hudson's Bay. He had likewise the power of granting lands as far as forty-six ; and being lieutenant-general of that whole extensive province, it may be said that it was at his disposal. The French merchants were now so well reconciled to the Canadian trade, that De Monts was soon enabled to form a company more considerable than any that had yet undertaken it, and who resolved to avail themselves of their exclusive patent.

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With this view they fitted out four ships: De Monts in person took the command of two of them, and was attended by Champlain, and a gentleman called Pontrincourt, with a number of volunteer adventurers. Another of the ships was destined to carry on the fur-trade at Tadoussac, and the fourth was given to Pontgravé, who, after touching at Canso, in Nova Scotia, was ordered to scour the sea between Cape Breton and St. John's Island; and to clear it of all interlopers. It was on the seventeenth of March, 1614, when De Monts, sailed from Havre de Grace, and, touching at Acadia: he there confiscated the Nightingale, an interloping vessel which he found in the harbour. — He then steered towards another haven, which he called Mutton-havén, on account of a sheep that tumbled over board there, and where he remained for a month. Champlain was all this while in a long-boat in search, of a proper situation for a settlement, and at last he pitched upon a little island which he called by the name of L'isle de St. Croix, about twenty leagues to the westward of St. John's River, and about half a league in circumference. He was followed to this island by M. De Monts; but it soon appeared that they had made a very injudicious choice of a situation for a settlement; for though the corn they sowed there produced very fine crops, and though they had been very successful in clearing the

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ground, they found themselves, when winter came on, without fresh water, without wood for firing, and, to crown their misfortunes, without fresh provisions. To save themselves the trouble of bringing fresh water from the continent, many of the new settlers drank melted snow, which filled the little colony with diseases, particularly the scurvy, and swept many of them off. Those inconveniences determined De Monts to remove his settlement to Port Royal, which has since been called Annapolis Royal, and which, during the winter, had been discovered by Champlain. By this time, Pontgravé was returned to St. Croix from France; and found that colony almost ruined, but agreed with De Monts in settling at Port Royal. Ponttrincourt was so much enamoured of this new situation, that De Monts, in virtue of his commission, made it over to him, and appointed him, at the same time, to be his lieutenant-general, upon Ponttrincourt's proposing to send for all his family to settle at Port Royal. De Monts then returned to France, where matters had taken a turn not at all in his favour; for the French court began to think they had gone upon very mistaken maxims in the exclusive privilege that had been granted him. The masters of the fishing vessels, the best trade which France then had, made the ministry sensible that De Monts, on pretence of preventing the trading with the natives, kept them from the necessaries fit for fishing, and that they were upon
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the point of abandoning the fisheries; upon which De Monts's patent was revoked, though ten years of it were still to run. This did not damp De Monts; he entered into new engagements with Pontrincourt, who was then likewise in France; and the latter again sailed for America, in an armed vessel from Rochelle in 1606. By the time they had arrived at Canso, the settlement at Port Royal, which had been left to the care of Pontgravé, was reduced to such difficulties, that he was obliged to re-imbark all the inhabitants but two, whom he left to take care of the effects he could not carry off. Before he left the bay of Fundy, he heard of Pontrincourt's arrival at Canso, upon which he returned to Port Royal, where the other arrived about the same time. The relief which Pontrincourt brought to his infant colony, came so seasonably that it again held up its head; but its prosperity was, in a great measure, owing to the spirit and abilities of Le Carbot, a French lawyer, who, partly from friendship to Pontrincourt, and partly through curiosity, had made this voyage. At this time, Pontgravé, the ablest man by far of any concerned in the project, had resigned his command, and all concerns with Pontrincourt; and De Monts, who had somewhat retrieved his affairs, abandoned all connexion with Acadia, and was applying himself to the fur-trade at Tadoussac. His company, who never had forsaken him, fitted out two ships, which sailed for the River St. Lawrence

rence in the spring of the year 1608. The trade was now become very considerable, and company, which was mostly composed of St. Lawrence merchants, thrived exceedingly; but De Montmagny, finding their interests were hurt by his remaining at their head, entirely withdrew from the association; upon which the company was re-instituted their privileges, and the use which they made of them, was for their private emolument.

Very different were the views of Champlain, who, after examining all the most promising places in Acadia, and on the river St. Lawrence, at last chose Quebec to settle in. He arrived there on the third of July, 1608, and, after building some racks for lodgings for his people, he began to clear the ground where they sowed wheat and rye, which produced vast returns. Champlain then went to France, but revisited his colony in 1609, and found them in a healthful, prosperous condition. It was at this time that the Iroquois began their fair to exterminate the Algonquins, and the Hurons, in whose country Quebec was situated, who, in hopes of the French assistance, were extremely complaisant to the new settlers. Champlain, on the other hand, did not fail to give them all the encouragement they could desire, and supplied them with provisions when the hunting season was over, and when they were reduced to the greatest distress. The Hurons, in the spring of the year 1610, with their associates, prepared to

the field, and Champlain, ignorant of the great power and fierceness of their enemies, was persuaded to join with them. This step was impolitic in Champlain, who did not foresee that, instead of humbling the Iroquois, and uniting all the Indians of that continent with France, he was forcing the Iroquois to throw themselves under the protection of the English and Dutch. He embarked on the River Sorel, then called the River of the Iroquois, with his allies; but after advancing up it for about fifteen leagues, he was stopped by the Fall of Chambly, and forced to send back his chaloup to Quebec. Though he had been assured that this Fall would stop his chaloup, he continued to march, attended only by two Frenchmen, who refused to leave him. Having carried their canoes over the bearing places, as they are called, they launched them again above the Fall, and then he pursued their voyage through a lake, to which he gave his own name, which it still retains, and where the River Sorel ends. They afterwards found a second fall at the farther end at the communication with Lake Sacrament.

During this voyage, Champlain received great pleasure from the promising appearance of the islands by which he had passed, but was shocked by the superstitions of his new allies, and the impositions of their spiritual jugglers. One of those always attends upon their armies, and covering himself up with skins, from thence he emits various sounds,

found, but such as do not resemble human, and which he pretends come from the god of war. The same jugglers pretend to the spirit of divination; and when Champlain used to reproach them for their repeated failures, in what they had foretold, they had always some excuse ready. The tricks of those mountebanks, however, were attended with one very bad effect, that they inspired their votaries with a spirit of rashness and carelessness, by generally predicting to them good success.

Upon the borders of the Lake Sacrament stood the Iroquois in battle array, though the Hurons thought to have surprised them in their village. It being then late, it was agreed, on both sides, to defer the battle till next morning. Champlain in the meantime, attended by a party of his savages, and his two Frenchmen, withdrew to a neighbouring wood; so that the Iroquois, who were in number about two hundred, seeing but a handful of their enemies, made themselves sure of victory. They were commanded by three chiefs, who were distinguished by larger plumes of feathers on their heads, than those the others wore, and were pointed out by the Hurons to Champlain, who, as soon as the battle began, issued with his party out of his retreat, and, with the first discharge of his firelock, killed two of their chiefs, and dangerously wounded the third. The consternation and astonishment of the Iroquois at the appearance

pearance of Champlain with his two companions, as well as at the report and execution of his fire-arms, was inexpressible; and, while he was recharging his musket, his two companions having killed some more of the Iroquois with theirs, the enemy fell into a total rout, and fled as fast as they could before the victorious allies, who killed some, and took others prisoners. The allies then, having none killed, and only fourteen or fifteen wounded, fell upon the spoils of the field, consisting of some maize, which they devoured, and it proved a very seasonable relief to them, their own provisions being now entirely exhausted.

As amongst those barbarians, the conquerors, as well as the conquered, make their retreat with all the dispatch they can, the victor Hurons, after travelling about eight leagues, stopped and intimated to one of their captives, that he must die by the same cruel torments that his nation had so often inflicted upon their brethren, who had fallen into their hands. Champlain strongly remonstrated against this inhumanity; but all he could gain, either by his authority, or his intreaties, was, that he should be master of the captive's fate, upon which he immediately shot him dead. The victors then opened the body, threw the bowels into the lake, cut off the head, the arms, and legs, but without touching the trunk, though before they have been said to feed upon it. The French say, they kept the scalp, and cut the heart
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in pieces, which they forced the prisoners to eat in small pieces; but that the brother of the deceased, who was amongst the captives, spit out his part after it had been crammed into his mouth. The nations of the allies, in this expedition, were the Algonquins, the Hurons, and the Montagnez. The first remained at Quebec; the second retreated to their own country, and the last to Tadoussac, where they were joined by Champlain. As they approached that village, they tied the scalps to long poles, as the signals of their triumph. Their women no sooner saw them than they threw themselves into the river, swam to their canoes, and seizing upon the scalps, hung them round their necks by way of ornament. They offered one to Champlain, but he refused it, and they made him a present of some bows and arrows, which they had taken from the enemy, and which they begged him to present to the French king, he being now upon his return to France.

Champlain, not meeting with a ship at Tadoussac, returned to Quebec, from whence he and Pontgravé once more embarked for France, leaving the command of their promising colony to Peter Chauvin. They waited upon his most Christian majesty at Fontainebleau; and then it was that Canada received the name of New France, by which the French afterwards affected to distinguish it. Two merchants, Le Gendre and Collier, chiefs of the company, soon procured two new ships for Cham-

Champlain and Pontgravé, and, embarking on the seventh of March, 1610, they arrived the twenty-sixth of April at Tadoussac. There they put themselves at the head of the Montagnez, and proceeding up to Quebec, the allies again marching to the river Sorel, which was the place of rendezvous: but when Champlain arrived there, he was not joined by near so many Indians as he expected; and he was there obliged to abandon his chaloup. No sooner was he landed than all his Indians dispersed, and he was left alone with four Frenchmen, the rest of the crew remaining to guard his chaloup. He began to be distressed by the swampiness of the ground over which he was obliged to march, and the continual bitings of the gnats and vermin that infested the air, when one of his savages came running, to tell him that his allies were engaged with their enemies. Upon this he quickened his pace, and soon found that the Hurons and Algonquins, having attacked their enemies in their intrenchments, had met with a repulse; but he and his party being reinforced by seven Frenchmen, made so furious an attack, that almost all the Iroquois were killed or taken prisoners. While the victor Indians were exercising their cruelties upon the vanquished, Champlain requested his allies to give him one of the Iroquois captives, which they did. He likewise prevailed upon them to receive a Frenchman into their society, that he might learn their language, and to send a young

Huron to France, in order to see that kingdom, that he might make a favourable report of the same to his friends and countrymen upon his return.

Henry IV. being dead by this time, by De Mont's advice, Champlain applied to Charles of Bourbon, count of Soissons, to be the father of New France, an honour which that prince readily accepted of, and, having obtained a proper commission from the queen-regent, he nominated Champlain to be his lieutenant with unlimited powers. The count dying soon after, the government of Canada, or New France, devolved upon the prince of Conde, who continued Champlain in his government. Some commercial differences that happened amongst the company detained Champlain in France all the year 1612; and, on the sixth of March, 1613, he embarked on board a vessel commanded by Pontgravé, for Quebec, before which place he landed on the seventh of May. They found the Quebec colony in so thriving a state that they immediately proceeded up to Montreal, and soon after Champlain returned to France with Pontgravé. But in 1615, he formed some new engagements with the merchants of Paris, Rouen, and Rochelle; which were confirmed by the prince of Conde, who had now assumed the title of viceroy of New France.

Champlain, leaving the Recollects, went to Montreal, where he had another interview with his savage allies,

allies, and undertook to head them in a third expedition against the Iroquois. By this conduct he made himself cheap in the eyes of the Indians; but so strong was his propensity to action, that he left Caron, one of the Recollect fathers, who had attended him, with the Hurons, and took their promise that they would not set out on their expedition, till his return from Quebec, whither he was called by some business.

This Caron was a thorough enthusiast, and aspired to the crown of martyrdom. The savages regarded Champlain so little, that they set out for Montreal before he returned from Quebec, and carried Caron with them and some other Frenchmen. Champlain dispatching his business at Quebec, returned to Montreal with two Frenchmen, and was there joined by ten more of his countrymen, that had been brought by Caron from Quebec, but found no Hurons. Though the disregard shewn him by the savages might have excused Champlain from fulfilling his engagements, yet, pretending to be greatly concerned about Caron, he proceeded to the Huron village, where he met with his allies. Being now at the head of about twelve Frenchmen, besides father Caron, who thirsted to shed the blood of unbelievers, he thought himself invincible, and setting out at the head of his allies, found his enemies intrenched in a fort, of no mean construction for defence, with trees cut down to block up the passages to it. Cham-

plain immediately led his party to the assault, but was repulsed with loss. He endeavoured to set fire to the fort; but the Iroquois foreseeing that, had provided plenty of water, which extinguished the flames. He then constructed a kind of a wooden stage, to overlook the building, so as that his musqueteers being placed on it, might fire down upon the enemy. Before this expedient took effect, he was wounded in the leg and knee, which struck the savages with so much dejection, that they refused to follow him; and he was obliged to abandon the attack with loss indeed, but without being pursued or losing a man in his retreat, which continued for five and twenty leagues, the savages carrying their wounded all that way upon hurdles.

After Champlain was cured of his wounds, he demanded the guides that had been promised him, to re-conduct him to Quebec; but they were denied him in the harshest manner, and he was therefore obliged to spend the winter amongst the savages. He then made the best use he could of his time. He visited all the Huron villages, and penetrated into those of the Algonquins, as far as the lake Nepissing; and as soon as the river became navigable, having engaged some Hurons to be faithful to him, he secretly embarked with them, and arrived at Quebec, with father Caron, on the eleventh of July, 1616. Both of them were received with the greatest joy, and having staid there for a month,

month, Champlain, the superior of the mission, and Caron, took shipping for France, leaving only two of the Recollects, D'Olbeau, and Duplessys, in New France.

During his absence, his Indian allies giving vent to the suspicions they entertained of the French intentions, formed a design of cutting the throats of all the French who were amongst them. Champlain had settled at Trois Rivières a small French colony, and two of them were murdered by the natives, who assembled, to the number of eight hundred, near that place, to carry their bloody intentions into execution. Champlain, returning from France, demanded to have the murderers of the two Frenchmen delivered up to him. One of them was sent, and along with him a quantity of furs to cover the dead, which is an Indian expression for making satisfaction for murder; and he was obliged to put up with that kind of atonement. In the year 1620, the prince of Conde sold the vice-royalty of New France to his brother-in-law, the marshal Montmorenci, who continued he in his licutenancy, but intrusted all the other affairs of Canada to M. Dolu. Champlain then carried his family over to New France, where they arrived in the month of May; and so greatly was the company abused, that at Tadoussac, he found traders from Rochelle, not only trafficking with the savages, but bargaining with them for fire-arms,

arms, the most pernicious commerce that could be introduced, for the colony.—In the year 1621, the Iroquois assembled in three bodies, being determined, if possible, to exterminate the French from amongst them; perhaps not more, from any resentment against them, than to gratify that vindictive spirit which they entertained against the Algonquins and the Hurons. One of those bodies attacked the pass at the Falls of St. Louis, but were repulsed; some of them were killed, and others fled, carrying with them Poulain, a French Recollect. The French, in vain, endeavoured to rescue him; but they gave one of their captives liberty to repair to his countrymen, and to propose to exchange the Recollect for one of the Iroquois chiefs, who had been made prisoner. The captive arrived at the Iroquois village, just as the fire was prepared, for putting the Recollect to a miserable death; but the terms he proposed were accepted of, and the exchange was made. The second body of the Iroquois went down in thirty canoes to attack the convent of the Recollects near Quebec; but finding the enterprize too hazardous, they fell upon a party of the Hurons in the neighbourhood, and, making some prisoners, they burned them. There is no account of what became of the third body. Champlain, at this time, received a letter from his most christian majesty, highly approving of his conduct, and confirming him in his command; while the vice-roy, by another letter, exhorted him

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to do all the service he could to the new patentees.

The whole colony at Quebec did not exceed the number of fifty persons, men, women, and children; but an establishment had been formed at Trois Rivières, and a brisk trade continued to be carried on at Tadoussac. — The Hurons, at this time, notwithstanding all the services Champlain had done them, began to suspect the views of the French upon their habitations, and to hate them even worse than they did the Iroquois, whom they invited to join them in an attempt to exterminate the French settlers in their common country. Champlain, having undoubted intelligence of their design, dispatched father Caron and two other missionaries, to keep the Hurons firm to their alliance with the French; but not trusting to this mission, he built the fort of Quebec, all of stone, for the better protection of his colony. No sooner was it finished, than his volatile humour, to the amazement of the colonists, led him back to France, to which, at the same time, he carried his family. From whence a body of five jesuits was sent, under the conduct of William de Caen, to Canada, who was accused of favouring Calvinism, and injuring the mission. — A few days after their arrival, as two of the most zealous of them were preparing to set out for the conversion of the Hurons, they heard of the death of Viel, and a young christian convert, who had been
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overfet in a boat by thofe barbarians, feemingly with defign, as they feized upon their baggage. To the religious difputes that prevailed in France, it was, moft probably, owing that, about the year 1626, Quebec began to affume the face of a city; but as it was under a Hugonot direction, the jefuits prevailed with the duke De Ventadour, to write a fharp letter to Caen, whom they represented as being the author of all the difficulties they met with. This divided ftate of the colony had almoft ruined it. The natives maffacred the French wherever they could fe curely do it, and religious difputes in the colony came to fuch a height, that, in 1627, when Champlain returned to Quebec, he found no advances had been made, either in building houfes or clearing the ground *.

* Richelieu was then the firft minifter of France, whole character is well known to the world. He hated the French proteftants, and refolved entirely to alter the conftitution of Quebec, by putting that colony and its trade into the hands of a hundred partners, under the following regulations.—Firft, That the partnership fhould next year (1628) fend over to New France two or three hundred workmen of all kinds; and before the year 1643, engage to augment the French inhabitants to the number of fixteen thoufand; to lodge, maintain, and find them in all neceffaries for three years, and then to make an equal diftribution amongft them of the lands that fhould be cleared, according to their refpective wants, furnifhing each family with feed to fow. Secondly, That no colonift, who was not a native Frenchman, fhould be admitted in New France; and that all Hugonots, as well as ftrangers, fhould be excluded. Thirdly, That in every diftrict, at leaft, three priefts fhould be maintained, whom the partnership was

Charles

Charles the First quarrelling with France, David Kertk, commonly called Sir David Kirk, a native of Dieppe (probably instigated by Caen, who was piqued at having lost his exclusive privilege) re-

to supply with all necessaries both for their persons and missions for fifteen years; after which time they were to live upon the cleared lands that were to be assigned them.

On the other hand, his most christian majesty, to indemnify the partnership for those expences, gave up to them in perpetuity the fort and district of Quebec, with all the territory of New France, comprehending that part of Florida which had been settled by his predecessors, with all the course of the Great River, till it discharges itself into the sea; with all the isles, ports, havens, mines, and fisheries, contained in that vast extent of territory; his majesty reserving to himself only the faith and homage of the inhabitants, and a golden crown of eight marks weight, to be paid to every new king of France, together with the provisions for the officers of justice, who were to be named, and presented to him by the associates or partners, as soon as it should be requisite to establish a civil government there. The partnership had likewise power to cast cannon, and to make all sorts of arms, as well as to fortify places. The second article gave the partnership a power of conveying lands, in such proportions as his majesty should think proper, and to annex such titles, honours, rights, and powers, to them, as he should prescribe, according to the merits of the persons, but with certain restrictions and conditions; but that the erection of duchies, marquises, earldoms, and baronies, should require the royal letters of confirmation upon the presentation of cardinal Richlieu, great master, head, and superintendant, of the navigation and commerce of France. The third article repealed all the former grants of the same nature, and gave the partnership for ever all the fur and peltry, and all other trades, within the before-mentioned limits for fifteen years, except the fisheries, which his majesty intended should be in common to all his subjects. By the fourth ar-

ceived the command of three English ships, sailed up the River St. Laurence, ravaged the country, and then proceeded to Quebec, and summoned the governor to surrender.

The infant colony, at that time, was in a miser-

able, the French settled in Canada, and not depending upon the partnership, might trade with the natives for furs, provided they disposed of their beavers only to the company's factors, who were obliged to take them at a certain price. The fifth article granted to the company two ships of war, each of two or three hundred tons, to be victualled by the company, who were to replace them if lost, unless they were destroyed or taken by an enemy. By the sixth article, the company was to repay to his majesty the price of two ships, if, during the first ten years of their contract, they did not carry over one thousand five hundred French men and women, to New France; and their patent was to be void, if they did not carry over the same number during the last five years. By the seventh and last article, all military officers, and soldiers of whatever kind, sent to Canada in those two ships, were to be appointed by his majesty; but the company had the power of appointing all the officers and soldiers of their own ships; and his majesty made them a present of four culverins.

By another ordonnance, the king of France gave still greater encouragement to the new colonists, viz. All tradesmen and mechanics employed by the company, who should chuse to return to France, after residing six years in Canada, had liberty to practise their several professions in Paris or any place in France: merchandises manufactured there, were to pay no imposts upon being imported into France for fifteen years; nor was any tax to be laid upon provisions of any kind exported to the new colony. Ecclesiastics, noblemen, and others, associating in the company, might do it without derogation to their rank or honours; and his majesty was to create twelve of the company nobles; and all the natives of Canada were, to all intents and purposes, to be re-

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able situation, being reduced to seven ounces of bread a day for each man, and they had but five pounds of powder in the garrison. Notwithstanding this, Champlain and Pontgravé, who happened to be then at Quebec, after some consultation, returned for answer to the English officer, that they were determined to hold out the fort to the last extremity. This bravado, perhaps, would have been ineffectual, had not Kirk had intelligence from Caen of a squadron's having entered the river, under Roquemont, with provisions and all kind of necessities for the new colony. This Roquemont had been governor and lieutenant-general of New France under his most christian majesty; and instead of avoiding Kirk, he met and fought him, but was defeated, and his squadron taken.

This misfortune increased the distresses of the colony, which now had nothing to depend on but the labours of some missionaries, who had return-

puted natives of Old France. And his majesty reserved to himself the qualification of the above articles, in case the company should meet with any obstruction from war, either civil or foreign. —

These articles were signed on the nineteenth of April, 1627, and the duke De Ventadour, at the same time, resigned into his majesty's hands the post of vice-roy. The company was called that of New France, and its numbers soon rose to one hundred and seven; at the head of whom were the cardinal Richlieu himself, the mareschal Desiat, superintendant of the finances, and other persons of great distinction; but the bulk was composed of rich merchants and traders.

ed to France to solicit their friends for relief. They were so successful as to procure a ship laden with provisions of all kinds; but it was wrecked before it touched Quebec. This disaster reduced the colony to the utmost distress, which was aggravated by the divisions that prevailed amongst the colonists themselves, and the growing disrespect of the savages for the French, the cause of which some attributed to the Hugonots introduced amongst them by Caen. In this extremity, Champlain made war upon the savages out of mere necessity; and the colonists, who consisted but of one hundred people, were obliged to repair to the woods, and there to dig roots for their sustenance. Towards the end of July, 1629, the English, under Kirk, again appeared off point Levi, and an officer was sent on shore to Quebec to summon it to surrender. Champlain, in the situation he then was, looked upon this summons as his deliverance, and the capitulation was soon made between him and Kirk's two brothers, the one of whom was to command the squadron, and the other to be governor of Quebec.

The treaty being thus finished, Champlain went on board one of the English ships for Tadoussac, and it was met, and would have been taken, by a French ship under the command of Emery de Caen; but his crew being composed of Calvinists, according to the French writers, did not chuse to exert themselves against the English. Upon Champlain's

lain's return to France, he perceived the public there divided with regard to Canada; some thinking that it was not worth the reclaiming, as it had already cost the government vast sums, without bringing any return; and that it only served to depopulate the mother-country. But these considerations were over-ballanced by the vast advantages of the fishery, and by its proving a nursery for seamen. Champlain supported his plan so well that he carried his point; and not only Canada, but Acadia, and the isle of Cape Breton, were restored to the French by the treaty of St. Germain's, in 1632. Emery de Caen carried the treaty to Lewis Kirk, who had been left governor of Canada, and who resigned his command to him. By this time, however, the English began to have some idea of the profits of the fur-trade; for though, by the treaty of St. Germain's, none but the French were to exercise it, Kirk carried it on for a whole year after the surrender of Quebec.

In 1633, the company of New France re-entered into all its rights in Canada, of which Champlain was made governor; and so indefatigably did he act, that, in a short time, he was at the head of a new armament, furnished with a fresh recruit of Jesuits, inhabitants, and all kinds of necessaries for the welfare of the revived colony. In 1634, he endeavoured to settle a mission in the Huron country, but met with many difficulties. An Algonquin had killed a Frenchman, and Champlain had
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put the murderer in prison; the missionaries were then ready to depart for the country of the Hurons, but an Algonquin chief flatly refused to suffer them to embark in their canoes, (the only way by which they could travel) unless his countryman was set at liberty. The reason he gave for his obstinacy in this point, was, that the parents and relations of the criminal expected him, and that they durst carry no Frenchman into their country without him. It was in vain for the governor to reason with the chief on this occasion; for though the Algonquin had seemed to be single in his opinion, yet it soon appeared that all the others were in concert with him, and that he spoke their sense; so that Champlain persuaded the missionaries to drop their journey for that time. — The zeal of Champlain seems to have been increased by the difficulties he encountered. The Hurons could not be persuaded to admit a missionary into their country till they obtained their own terms; and even then, they appeared so reserved that the fathers looked upon themselves as so many sheep in the midst of wolves. At last they gained footing in a village called Joutatiri, where they made half a dozen converts, and built a chapel which they dedicated to St. Joseph, whose name they likewise gave to the village; and they began to gain some footing by their inflexible perseverance. New France, all this while, was gaining inhabitants, and the colony was approaching to a degree of consistency.

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In 1635, René Rochault, eldest son of the marquis de Gamache, having entered into the society of Jesus, resumed the design he had before formed, but which had been interrupted by the conquest which the English had made of Quebec, of founding a college there. While this affair was in agitation, the indefatigable Champlain died, in December, 1635, at Quebec; and, in the year 1606, M. De Montmagny succeeded him in the government of New France; and M. De L'Isle commanded at the new settlement of Trois Rivières; both of them being knights of Malta, and zealous for the propagation of the catholic religion. Montmagny encouraged the Hurons to send their children to Quebec, where he had projected a seminary for them in the college of the Jesuits. But those barbarians studied little but their temporary advantage. While they were eating and drinking, and receiving presents, they seemed to be all compliance, but retracted when they had nothing more to expect. Five or six Indians agreed to send their sons to the seminary; but after they were put on board the canoes, they pursued and took them out of the hands of the fathers. They soon found that the colony lay still under great difficulties. Montmagny proceeded upon Champlain's plan; but nothing was to be done with the savages without rewards. He found his funds deficient in this respect, and the ardour of the natives

natives cooled every day, till, at last, they came to be almost estranged from the French. The Iroquois, who were still more untractable than the Hurons or the Algonquins, courted their enemies to take part with them against the French; but the Hurons depending on French assistance, gave themselves very little trouble, till the Iroquois surprised and massacred many of them. In the mean time the Jesuits wrote over to France in the most affecting and pathetic terms, accounts of the difficulties, the dangers, and the unspeakable fatigues they daily underwent. The Iroquois, notwithstanding all that Montmagny could do to blind them, were sensible of the real weakness of the colony, and even insulted the governor of Trois Rivières; so that the affairs of New France were in immediate danger of being ruined, when the European Jesuits, who had the possession of the consciences of the French court and ministry, blew the flames of religion with such efficacy as engaged the queen herself and the princesses of the blood in the support of the colony. In the beginning of the year 1628, a contagious distemper broke out in one of the Huron villages, and, in a short time, communicated itself to the whole nation. The savages, who never reason but from appearances, till this happened, had attributed all the calamities they met with to the incantations and witchcraft of the christians amongst them; but they were now undeceived. Those barbarians were as ignorant in treating in-ward

ward maladies as they are excellent in curing external wounds; and the Jesuits administered such effectual medicines as stopped the progress of the distemper, and greatly reconciled them to their company. The accounts of this animated the court of France; so that a scheme was formed of establishing a nunnery at Quebec, to which the Ursulines and the Hospitalers offered their persons and their services with the most lively zeal. The commander of Sylleri was indefatigable in seconding the views of the Jesuits for erecting a settlement composed only of christians and proselytes, to be a bulwark for the colony against the insults of the Iroquois, and to promote the cultivation of lands. With this view he sent workmen to Quebec, and requested father Le Jeune to pitch upon a proper spot for their settlement. The father chose one on the north-side of the River St. Laurence, into which twelve christian families entered, whose numbers soon increased, and the place at this time retains the name of the founder. A school for female children, and an hospital for the sick, were still wanting. The hospital was equally to serve the colonists and the natives, both being as yet very indigent; and the school was to be under the direction of French Ursulines, who were to educate in it not only French, but also savage girls. [The duchess of Aiguillon undertook the foundation of the hospital, and, by her persuasion, the religious Hospitalers of Dieppe, all of them females, offered

to sacrifice all they had to the service of sick Canadians. It was therefore thought proper to make choice of no more than three, who accordingly departed for the colony. The Ursuline foundation encountered new difficulties. It is possible that the company of New France by this time began to think that the good Jesuits were engrossing too much power to themselves; and it must be confessed that the colony at that juncture wore the face of a religious seminary rather than a national undertaking. For that reason they had given no attention to the Ursuline foundation. Nothing, however, could resist the ridiculous spirit of devotion that then obtained in France. A young widow of Alençon, Madame de La Peltrie, devoted her person and fortune to this establishment; and came to Paris to regulate her proceeding, and removed from thence to Tours;—there she found two Ursulines fit for her ends, viz. (the illustrious Mary of the Incarnation, to speak in the terms of Charlevoix, who has written her life) and Mary de St. Joseph. From Tours this widow removed to Dieppe, where she found a third Ursuline proper for her purpose. Nothing can exceed the absurdity of the miracles said to be worked by those holy sisters, who have been always looked upon by the Canadians as their tutelar angels. They embarked on the fourth of May, 1639, along with Madame de La Peltrie and father Vimond, who had been appointed to succeed father Le Jeune, as
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superior of the Jesuit mission in Canada; and after a hazardous voyage they landed at Quebec, on the first of August. This new kind of mission makes a great figure in the annals of Canada. The governor received the ladies, on their debarkment, at the head of his troops, who were drawn up under arms. They entered Quebec under a general discharge of the cannon, and proceeded in triumph, amidst the acclamations of the people, to the church, where Te Deum was solemnly sung for their arrival. This was a period of triumph to the Jesuits. They held forth not only to the savages, but to the colony, the infinite merits of those ladies, who could exchange ease and affluence in Europe, for fatigue and difficulties in America; and the behaviour of the ladies themselves confirmed all they said in their praise. Far from being shocked at the indigence, poverty, and mean appearance of the Indian huts, they seemed to rejoice at their having an opportunity to manifest their zeal by their intense labours for propagating christianity. The enthusiasm of Madame de La Peltrie went to extravagance. She not only stripped herself, that she might cloath the naked savages, but worked with her own hands in cultivating the ground for their subsistence. The Ursulines and the Hospitallers strove to out-do one another in their zeal; and the former settled at Quebec, as the latter did at Sylleri, where the hospital was daily crowded with patients. The labours of those good sisters, as well

as the charities of the inhabitants of Quebec, were inconceivable; but the company failed on their part, and gave them little or no assistance].

While the Canadians were rejoicing in their zeal the war broke out afresh between the Iroquois and the Hurons; which was attended as usual with barbarities shocking to human nature*.

* As a specimen of these cruelties, we here present the reader with the following story.—One day, the Hurons having the advantage in a skirmish, made an Iroquois chief captive, and he was brought to one of the Huron villages, where the fathers assembled. No sooner was he arrived, than it was decreed, in an assembly of the ancient savages, that he should be presented to one of their old chiefs, to replace his nephew, who had been killed in war, or to be disposed of as he should think proper. Brebeuf, one of the Jesuits, immediately resolved to convert him to christianity. The captive was clothed in a new beaver habit, with a curious necklace, and his temples were circled with a kind of diadem: he was surrounded by a troop of triumphant warriors, and seemed to be quite unconcerned at his fate. When Brebeuf approached him, he perceived, that, before his fate was determined, he had been tortured. One of his hands had been crushed between two flints, and had lost a finger. His other hand had lost two, which had been cut off by a hatchet. The joints of his arms had been burnt, and a great gash appeared upon one of them. All this had been inflicted upon the poor wretch, before he entered the Huron village; for he no sooner arrived there than he was treated with the greatest endearments, and a young woman was assigned him for his wife. Such was this barbarian's situation when he was converted by Brebeuf; and he was esteemed to be the first adult convert, that ever was made of the Iroquois nation; being baptized by the name of Joseph.

All this while the captive was loaded with caresses, and Brebeuf was suffered to take him to his tent every night; but his

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By this time, the settlement of Trois Rivières began to be greatly resorted to, not only by the Algonquins, but by the most distant northerly nations, particularly the Attikamegues, who lived in

fores now became putrid and full of worms. To increase his misery, he was carried in triumph from village to village, and wherever he came he was obliged to sing, so that sometimes his voice entirely failed him; nor had he the least respite, but when he was alone with Brebeuf, or some of the missionaries. At last he was conveyed to the village where the chief lived who was to be the disposer of his fate. The captive presented himself, with an air perfectly unconcerned, to his supposed uncle, who, after surveying him, talked to him in the following strain. "Nephew," said he, "you cannot imagine the joy I conceived, when I understood that you were to supply the place of him whom I have lost; I had already prepared a mat for you in my cabin, and it was with the utmost satisfaction, that I resolved to pass the rest of my days with you in peace; but the condition I see you in, forces me to alter my resolution. It is plain that the tortures you suffer, must render your life insupportable to yourself, and you must think that I do you service in abridging its course. They who have mangled you in this manner, have caused your death. Take courage, therefore, my dear nephew! Prepare yourself this evening to shew that you are a man, and that you are superior to the force of torments." The captive heard this discourse with the greatest indifference, and only answered with a resolute voice, that it was very well. The sister of the deceased then served him with victuals, and caressed him in the most affectionate manner, while the old chieftain put his own pipe into his mouth, and wiped the sweat from his brows, with the most tender demonstrations of paternal love. Towards noon the captive, at the expence of his supposed uncle, made his farewell feast, and while the inhabitants of the village were all assembled around him, he harangued the

the neighbourhood of the lake St. Thomas, whom the fathers who frequented that settlement found to be a very tractable race. Another mission was formed at Tadoussac, the most frequented station

them as follows: "Brethren, I am about to die. Divert yourselves boldly around me: be convinced that I am a man, and that I neither fear death, nor all the torments you can inflict." He then began a song, in which he was joined by the warriors who were present. He was then presented with victuals, and when the feast was ended, he was carried to the place of execution, which is called the cabin of blood, [or heads cut off] and always belongs to the head of the village. About eight o'clock in the evening all the savages of the village being assembled, the young men who were to be executioners of the tragedy, forming the first row round the prisoner, were exhorted by one of their infernal elders to behave well, meaning thereby to put him to the most excruciating tortures. The prisoner was then seated on a mat, where his hands were tied, and then rising, he danced round the cabin, singing his death song all the time, and then replaced himself upon the mat. One of the elders then took from him his robe, which he said was destined for such a chief [naming him] that such a village was to cut off his head, which, with an arm, was to be given to such another village, to feast upon it. According to the French writers, the good father Brebeuf encouraged the victim to suffer with the sentiments of christianity, which he did with a most amazing firmness, without dropping the least reproachable word. He even talked of the affairs of his nation, with as much indifference, as if he had been at home with his family. Eleven fires had been lighted to torment him; and the elders said it was of consequence, that he should be alive at sun-rising, for which reason his tortures were prolonged to that time, when the barbarians, fearing that he should expire without iron, (another of their barbarous superstitions) carried him

in

In all Canada by the savages, particularly the Papinachies, the Bersiamites, the Mountaineers, and the Porcupines. Sometimes all those nations met together at Tadoussac; but as soon as their traffic was over, they returned to their wilds and forests, to which they were often followed by the missionaries, who even attended them in their winter huntings, which presented the most dreadful and uncomfortable scenes, as the most frightful deserts generally supplied the greatest plenty of game. But some of the savages, who resided all the winter in the neighbourhood of Tadoussac, were there converted.—The presence of the French, however, in Canada, overawed the five Iroquois Cantons, who continued still the irreconcilable enemies of the Hurons and the Algonquins; and the war amongst them was still carried on, but began to turn in favour of the Hurons. It appears, that notwithstanding their docility to be instructed in the christian religion, the missionaries never could prevail with them to abolish the practice of putting their prisoners to death. All they could do was to convert and baptize them before they suffered; and, like the ancient Druids, they often rushed into the heat of the battle, where they baptized the wounded, and the dying, or administered to them other spiritual assistance.

out of the village, and cut off one of his feet, a hand, and his head, which were disposed of as proposed, while his body was thrown into a caldron.

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The Iroquois having received a considerable defeat, were cunning enough to lay a plan for disuniting the French from their savage allies, by exciting in the latter a suspicion of their fidelity. With this view, in all their excursions, they treated such of the French as fell into their hands with great humanity, but the natives with their usual cruelties. A body of them gathered about Trois Rivières, which, for some time, they had in a manner besieged. M. Champfleurs had lately succeeded M. de L'Isle in the government of that settlement, and when he least expected it, they sent one of their French captives to propose a peace with him, provided the Hurons and Algonquins were not comprehended in it. Champfleurs was in no condition to carry on the war; but the prisoner cautioning him against the insincerity of the Iroquois, he sent an account of what was passing to Montmagny at Quebec, who immediately came up to Trois Rivières, and from thence sent two deputies to demand from the Iroquois, that their French prisoners should be set at liberty. The deputies were received with great civility, and in quality of mediators, were seated on a buckler. After this, the French captives were brought forth, slightly tied, and then one of the Iroquois chiefs began a formal harangue, expressing the great desire he and his nation had to live in friendship with the French. In the midst of his speech he unbound the captives, and, throwing

ing the cords over the pallisades into the river, he wished that the stream might carry them away never to be heard of more. He then presented the two deputies with a belt of wampum as a pledge of their liberty, restored to the children of Ononthio, or the great mountain, (for so they called Montmagny) but when they spoke of the French king, they called him the grand Ononthio. He then placed two bundles of beaver skins before the captives, to serve them for robes, it being, as he said, unjust to send them away naked; and renewed the assurances he had already given them of peace, begging in the name of his nation, that Ononthio would conceal under his cloaths the hatchets of the Algonquins and Hurons, during the negociation, protesting that they themselves would commit no hostility.

While the Indian was yet speaking, two Algonquin canoes came in sight, and were immediately chased by the Iroquois. The Algonquins being overpowered, swam on shore, and their canoes were plundered, in sight of the French general, who was preparing to punish their treachery, but they instantly vanished, and soon after plundered a number of Huron canoes going to Quebec, laden with furs. But in fact, notwithstanding the accusations brought against the Iroquois on this occasion, it is no very easy matter to fix upon them the charge of treachery for what happened, as the treaty was not concluded, and it was natural for

the Iroquois, upon the appearance of their professed enemies, to suspect the intentions of the French. However, the savages changed their language after this accident ; but the affairs of the colony continued still to be so much neglected by the company, that it was on the point of being ruined, when a spirit for the conversion of the Indians again broke forth amongst the great in France, and thirty-five persons of quality associated themselves together to settle Montreal. — The new company proceeded upon a rational plan. They resolved to begin, by erecting upon that island a French fortification, strong enough to resist all the assaults of the savages ; that the poor French inhabitants received into it, should be put into a way to earn their own bread, and that the rest of the island should be settled by savages, without respect to their tribes, provided they were christians, or willing to become such. It was likewise proposed not only to assure them of protection, against all their enemies in this new settlement, but to provide them with medicines and subsistence, till they could be so far civilized as to get their livelihood by their own labour. To carry this plan into execution, the French king, in 1640, vested the property of the island in the thirty-five associates, and next year one of them, Maisonneuve, a gentleman of Champagne, carried thither several French families, amongst whom was a young lady of condition, who was proposed to be invested with
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the superintendancy of the female colonists, Maisonneuve being declared governor of the island, on the fifteenth of October following. It was not before the seventeenth of May next year, that the French entered into possession of their new habitation and chapel of this island, which they did, with a superabundancy of religious exercises, which are too tedious to mention.

Notwithstanding the precaution taken by the French settlement at Montreal, the Iroquois still continued to make dreadful irruptions into French Canada, into which they generally penetrated, by a river called after their own name, but afterwards by those of Richlieu and Sorel. At the entrance of this river, Montmagny, who suspected that the Iroquois were instigated and supplied by the Dutch settled in New Holland, now New York, began to erect a fort, and completed it, though the workmen were interrupted by seven hundred of the Iroquois, who attacked them, but were repulsed with loss. Amongst other converts was Ahasistari, who was baptized by the name of Eustace. He was a Huron chief, of such distinguished power and authority that his example brought an incredible number of his countrymen into the pale of christianity. He raised a large body of Indian warriors, all of them christians; and about this time the Jesuits received an invitation from a remote nation of Indians, that go by the name of Pauoirigoudieuhak. Those savages inhabit a coun-

try near the Falls of St. Mary, on the canal by which the Lake Superior discharges itself into that of Huron, and may be considered as lying in the very heart of French Canada. The Jesuit fathers, Isaac Jogues and Charles Raimbaut undertook this dangerous mission to the country of the Saulteurs. Following the Saulteur deputies, they arrived at their nation, where they were affectionately received; but before they could make any considerable progress, they were recalled to Quebec. By this time the Iroquois had entered into a considerable commerce with the Dutch at New Holland, to whom they disposed of their peltry, and who furnished them with fire-arms, by which means they obtained a decisive superiority over the Hurons. Upon their recall from their mission on the thirteenth of June, 1642, the two Jesuits reached Quebec, where they had indispensable business, and, on the first of August, they set out under a convoy of thirteen armed canoes, manned with christians, and converts, under the command of Eustace, and other celebrated warriors, whom mistaken christianity had now degenerated into miserable bigots; for instead of making preparations to resist an attack, little passed amongst them but mutual exhortations to suffer bravely in the cause of Christ. About sixteen leagues from Quebec, they perceived the footsteps of the Iroquois, but were so secure in their imagined superiority, that they proceeded up the river without the least precaution, till they
came.

came to a pass where seventy Iroquois lay in ambush, and where they were saluted with a brisk regular fire, which wounded many of the christians, and pierced their canoes. Some of them, upon this, fled ; but the bravest amongst them, encouraged by two or three Frenchmen who had accompanied father Jogues, made a resistance, till their canoes were full of water, and then all of them, but a very few who escaped in the confusion, were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners. Jogues might have escaped likewise, and his companions even pressed him to it ; but his frantic zeal for the crown of martyrdom detained him, and he resolved to share the fate of his dear children, as he called the prisoners. He even baptized an Indian amidst this scene of slaughter, with all the composure imaginable, and then, with Couture, another Frenchman, who was resolved to follow his fortune, surrendered himself prisoner to the barbarians. The French have been at great pains to recount all the particulars of the miseries this Jesuit and his fellow prisoners underwent. Eustace suffered at the stake ; but as to father Jogues, though the barbarians had crushed his hands, cut off his fingers, and filled his face and whole body with wounds and sores, that had become putrid, yet he survived all his sufferings, and continued indefatigable in his profession of making proselytes. He now passed his time chiefly amongst the Agniers, who, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the
governor

governor of Canada, refused to part with him ; after a variety of adventures, he escaped to New York, and from thence to France.

In the year 1644, the colony of Montreal had gained over a great number of Indians to the christian faith. The Algonquins, who were seated on an island formed by the Outawas, had the greatest commerce with our new colonists ; but they were headed by a chief who had an invincible aversion to the christian religion, though he pretended to be a great friend to the French nation. He was rather more fierce on this head than the Iroquois themselves. This barbarian had a nephew who settled at Montreal, together with his wife ; and there, by the persuasion of two Jesuits, Vimond and Poncet, they embraced christianity, but were much grieved to think that their uncle should still continue in a state of obstinate infidelity. After several discourses held between this proselyte and his ghostly fathers, upon the means of converting the uncle, who had been for some time gone upon an expedition, the latter appeared in his nephew's cabin, and declared that, as he was traversing the wilds of the country, he was seized with an irresistible impulse to become a christian, and that he could have no peace of mind till he should repair to Montreal for baptism, together with his wife who was impressed with the same sentiments. Maisonneuve and the Jesuits did not fail to encourage these Indians in their pious dispositions;

positions; and both of them were baptized with great pomp and ceremony.

But about this time, the enemies of the fathers, both in Canada and Europe, gave out that all their labours tended only to establish themselves in the fur-trade, which, in fact, was now ingrossed by the company of a hundred, or Canadian company. The latter thought themselves at last obliged to contradict those reports, which they did, in an authentic declaration under their hands and seals. During the wandering and painful life they led for three years, having received no supply of cloaths, they were almost naked: for want of communion elements they could not administer the sacrament; and when their wine had failed them, they were even obliged to squeeze the wild grapes they found in the woods. At last, some Hurons ventured to go in winter-time upon the ice to Quebec, where they laid before the governor the distresses of the mission, and a supply of provisions was ordered for their relief; but the dangers of the journey, were so dreadful that even the most zealous declined it, till Bressani, a Roman Jesuit, undertook it. He embarked towards the end of April, 1644, attended by a young Frenchman, and six Hurons, two of whom had been saved out of the hands of the Iroquois; but when they came to the entrance of St. Peter's Lake, their canoe was wrecked; and a thick snow happening the night after, several of the convoy were so imprudent as

to fire upon some savages, which discovered them to the Iroquois, who instantly seized the booty, killed one of the prisoners, and forced the rest to travel night and day, sometimes swimming, and sometimes on foot, loading them all the way with severe bastinadoes; but they split the missionary's left hand between two stones, and, after coming to the first village of the canton of Agnier, his tortures were redoubled, so that he fell down lifeless and motionless; and to recover him, they cut off his left thumb and two fingers of his right hand. The tortures, mangleings, and burnings, which he afterwards underwent, are incredible; so that his body became one continued sore, crawling with worms and maggots, and emitted so noisome a smell, that none durst approach him. He understood at last from the elders of the barbarians, that they were resolved not to put him to death; a favour which the good father attributed to his devotions. He was then consigned to a matron, who treated him with humanity; but the stench issuing from his sores remained so offensive, that she sent him to the next Dutch settlement to be sold. Fortunately for him, he found a Dutchman who bought him, and after ordering his wounds to be carefully inspected, they were cured, and the father was put on board a ship landed him at Rochelle towards the end of November.

The

The Iroquois now amused Montmagny with proposals of peace, which he earnestly wished for ; but they had no other design than to have an opportunity of learning the situation of the colony. At last Montmagny was reduced to the most despicable shifts, and obliged to soothe the barbarians, to gain a little respite for himself and his colony. About this time, Champfleurs, governor of Trois Rivières, informed Montmagny that some Hurons had arrived at Trois Rivières, with three Iroquois prisoners, one of whom they had given to the Algonquins, who had been, with much difficulty, prevailed upon not to put him to death, till he could hear from Montmagny. Upon this the latter immediately went up to Trois Rivières with some presents, and, summoning together the heads of the Algonquins and Hurons, he displayed his presents before their eyes, and then informed them, that, in order to prevent any impositions from their common enemies the Iroquois, he only wanted liberty to send one of the prisoners to the cantons of the Iroquois, to inform them, that if they meant to save the lives of the other two prisoners, they must immediately send deputies, with full power to treat of an accommodation. His speech being finished, an Algonquin chief arose ; and, presenting his prisoner to Montmagny, he told him, That he could refuse nothing to his father ; and that if his presents were accepted of, it was only in order to dry up the tears of a family where

It is the custom of those savages, that they neither give nor receive an answer the same day that a public proposition is made. Two days after, Montmagny returned his in a meeting, which

He then began singing, and throwing himself into a thousand ridiculous attitudes, walking about, and frequently looking upon the sun: at length, in a calmer manner, he proceeded as follows:

“The belt, my father, which I here present thee, thanks thee for having rescued my brother from the tooth of the Algonquin: but how couldst thou let him return home by himself? Had his canoe been overset, who was to assist him to bring it to rights? Had he been drowned, or perished by any other accident, thou wouldst have heard no word of peace from us, and wouldst, perhaps, have imputed to us the fault committed by thyself.”

When the orator had finished this speech, he hung the belt on the cord; then, taking another, he fixed it to Couture’s arm, and, turning again to Montmagny, he thus addressed him:

“My father, this belt brings thee back thy subject; but I was far from saying unto him, Nephew, take a canoe, and return home:—never could I have been easy till I had certainly heard of his safe arrival. My brother, whom thou hast sent us back, suffered a great deal, and underwent many perils. He was obliged alone to carry his own bundle; to swim all day, to drag his canoe against the fall, and to be always on his guard against surprise.”

The orator accompanied this speech with the most expressive action, which represented a man sometimes pushing forward a canoe with a pole, sometimes paddling with an oar; sometimes he seemed to be out of breath, and then resuming his spirits, he appeared more calm. He then seemed as if he had hurt his foot against a stone in carrying his bundle; and, halting along as if he had been wounded, he thus continued his discourse: — “Hadst thou but assisted him in surmounting the most difficult parts of his journey.—Really, my father, I know not what became of thy understanding when thou
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was as numerous as the former, and where he made as many presents as he had received belts of wampum. Couture, on this occasion served as interpreter, and performed his office in a grave solemn manner, suitable to the dignity of the personage for whom he interpreted. When he had finished his speech, Pieskaret, who was esteemed one of the bravest men that ever Canada produced, made his present of a stone, which he said he placed on the tomb of those who died in war, that none

“ sentest us back in this manner one of thy children, without an attendant, and without assistance I did not serve Couture so. I said to him, Come along, my nephew, follow me, I will restore thee to thy family, at the peril of my own life.”

The other belts were disposed of in the same manner as the two preceding; and each of them had a particular allusion to the terms of the peace in agitation, which was explained by the orator in a very picturesque manner. One of them levelled the roads, another of them smoothed the river, a third furnished the contracting parties with the means of visiting one another without distrust or danger. One was emblematical of the feasts that were to pass amongst them; another of the alliance to be concluded, and their intentions to restore the fathers, Jogues and Bressani; others, of their impatience to see them return, the cordial reception they would meet with, and their thanks for the late deliverance of the three Iroquois captives. When the delivery of a belt was not accompanied with a speech, it was with gesticulations and motions, sufficiently expressive of the meaning of the orator, who continued this fatiguing scene for the amazing space of three hours, without appearing to be heated; for he afterwards led up a dance, and joined in the singing and feasting, which concluded the conference.

might

might dare to remove their bones or think of revenging their death. Negabamat, the chief of the mountaineers, then made them a present of an elk's skin, saying, that it was to make-shoes for the Iroquois deputies, that they might not hurt their feet in their return homewards.—The other nations present, probably having with them neither chief nor interpreters, made no speeches. When the conferences were over, three cannons were fired, as the governor ordered the savages to be told, to carry every where the news of the peace. The savages were then feasted by the superior of the Jesuits, and his good cheer rendered them extremely eloquent, and drew from them many professions of friendship. Next day, the deputies returned home, attended by two Hurons, and two Algonquins, for whom three Iroquois remained as hostages. The treaty was ratified by all the cantons, especially that of Agnier, which had been in open war with France. Bressani afterwards returned to Canada, and understanding, from the report of the two Frenchmen, and four savages who had attended the Iroquois deputies, that the people were desirous of having missionaries amongst them, he eagerly offered himself, and even made interest for the mission. Next winter, the Iroquois, the Hurons, and the Algonquins, hunted together, as if they had been but one nation; a circumstance which had not happened since the arrival of the French in Canada; but just as the latter were beginning

ginning to taste the sweets of peace, the Sokokis, who were enemies to the Algonquins, and had done all they could to hinder the Iroquois from concluding the treaty, murdered several of the christian savages after they had settled at Sylleri. The Agniers, to exculpate themselves, again ratified the treaty by new deputies, who hinted to Montmagny, that he ought to be upon his guard against all the savages who were not expressly included in the treaty, and that he had it in his power to bring them in, by procuring the release of some of their prisoners who had been taken by the allies of the French; but this counsel never was followed.

Father Jogues, as well as Bressani, returning to Canada, being more zealous than ever for the crown of martyrdom, petitioned the governor for leave again to visit the Agniers; which was granted him, provided he came back after the treaty had been ratified by the other four cantons of the Iroquois, to give Montmagny an account of the dispositions he found them in. But the Algonquins very earnestly insisted, that in his first expedition, he should neither appear in the habit of his order nor speak of religion, which advice he complied with. He set out, on the sixteenth of May, attended by Bourdon, one of the most considerable inhabitants of Quebec, and two Algonquins, who carried in their canoe presents from their nation to that of the Iroquois. At the first Agnier village

village Jogues came to, he was known by some of his former tormentors, who loaded him with caresses and compliments, so that Jogues came to a resolution to settle among them, and hurried back to Richlieu, where Montmagny was, to be discharged of his promise. He assured that general, who well knew from what motives he spoke, that he might depend upon the friendship of the Agniers; and, at last, he was released from his engagement, and returned to his mission, attended by a Frenchman and four savages. By this time, the Upper Iroquois, who composed the four cantons that had not ratified the peace, had recommenced hostilities against the Hurons, and had surprised one of their villages. The missionaries, however, felicitated themselves upon the great progress their labours had made during the short interval of peace;—but they were soon undeceived; Father Jogues had scarcely passed Trois Rivières, when he was abandoned by his four savage guides, and left alone with his young Frenchman, La Land. This sudden change was matter of amazement to the good father, who began, as he could speak their language, to expostulate very eloquently with them, but all to no purpose: all the favour they shewed him, was, that instead of burning him and his companion alive, their heads were cut off with a hatchet in their cabins.

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The hatred of the christians carried them to an excess of fury, for they murdered or tormented them to death, without regard to sex or age, whenever they fell into their hands. Amongst others who died martyrs to their rage, was the brave Pief-karet, whom one of the parties met alone, and not daring to attack him to his face, engaged in a familiar conversation with him, and killed him from behind. The Algonquin women nobly resisted their enemies on this occasion, and, fighting their way to the French, were the first who apprized them of their danger *.

* One of them, being taken prisoner, was carried to an Iroquois village, where she was stripped naked, and her hands and feet bound with ropes, in one of their cabins. In this condition she remained for ten days, the savages sleeping round her every night. The eleventh night, perceiving they were all asleep, she disengaged one of her hands, and soon freeing herself from the ropes, went to the door, where she snatched up a hatchet, slew the savage that lay next her, and springing out of the cabin, concealed herself in a hollow tree, that she had observed the day before, near the place. The noise the dying person made, soon alarmed the other savages, and all the young ones set out in pursuit of her. Perceiving, from her tree, that all of them directed their course one way, and that no person was near her, she left her sanctuary, and flying by an opposite direction, she ran into a forest without being perceived. The second day after this happened, her footsteps were perceived, and they followed her with such expedition, that, on the third day, she discovered her pursuers at her heels. She instantly threw herself into a pond of water which was near her, where diving amongst some weeds and bulrushes, she could just breath above water without being perceived; so that her pursuers, after making a most diligent search for her,

While the Iroquois were thus shaking off their christianity, it was taken up by the Abenaguais, an Indian nation lying between Lake Champlain and New England, and divided into various tribes who live on the banks of the river Pentageot; and, about this time, the colony of New England being very strong, and many dissenting ministers, who had been driven from their native country on account of religion, having settled there, some of them grew as zealous for the conversion of the Indians as the Jesuits themselves were, and had made a very considerable progress in it. This alarmed the French at Quebec; and father Gabriel Dreuilletes was sent upon a mission amongst the Abenaguais for their conversion. The French say that this mission was solicited for by the Cannibas, an Abenaguais nation who traded with Quebec. Their countrymen who had been con-

were forced to return. For five and thirty days this poor creature held on her course, through woods and deserts, without any other sustenance than roots and wild berries. When she came to the River St. Laurence, she made with her own hands a kind of a wicker raft, on which she passed it. As she went by Trois Rivières, without well knowing where she was, she perceived a canoe full of Indians, and, fearing they might be Iroquois, she again ran into the woods, where she remained till sun-set; but soon after, continuing her course, she saw Trois Rivières. She was then discovered by a party whom she knew to be Hurons, and when they approached her, she squatted down behind a bush, calling out to them, that she was not in a condition to be seen, because she was naked. They immediately threw her a blanket,

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verted by the English, and who lay nearest to New England, beginning to thrive, and to live in much greater abundance than before, their lands being much better improved, and their persons better cloathed; the Abenaguais, who lay nearest to Canada, being miserably poor and lazy, no doubt expected the like desirable change of circumstances from their conversion by the French; and numbers were accordingly made profelytes to the christian faith.—

At this period Montmagny received an order from his court to deliver up his commission to d'Ailleboust, who had for some time commanded at Trois Rivières; and he departed for France with a great character, both for his virtues and abilities. His successor was said to be a very deserving person, but a zealot for the conversion of the Indians. Having great experience in the affairs of the French colony, high expectations were formed of his government; and it was owing to neglect and mismanagement at home, that they were not answered.—The Andastes, a warlike tribe of Indians, now offered their assistance to the Hurons, against the Iroquois, who still continued to be their implacable enemies; but the former seemed to have exchanged for christianity all their native courage

and conducted her to the fort of Trois Rivières, where she recounted her story; the most remarkable circumstance of which is her innate desire of blood, that was so strong as to induce her to kill the savage, which occasioned all the danger that afterwards pursued her.

and love of their country. Depending on the protection of the French, they civilly declined the offer of the Andastes, and giving way to their natural indolence, they made no provision for their defence, till the Agniers fell upon their village of St. Ignatius, and gave them a complete defeat. Instead of preparing to revenge their loss, the Hurons finding their enemies did not follow their blow, relapsed into all their former supineness; and for some time the colony enjoyed a state of tranquillity, while the French followed the fur-trade about Trois Rivières and Tadoussac, with great success and profit. The Iroquois had foreseen the security of the Hurons; and, watching their time, they secretly armed themselves, when they understood that the greatest number of the young Hurons were gone to hunt, and, on the sudden, they invested the populous village of St. Joseph. Father Daniel, an obstinate enthusiastic missionary, who attended this village, was then saying mass, and had but just time to strip himself of his ecclesiastical habit, and to lock up the holy utensils, when he saw himself surrounded with the Iroquois, who slaughtered all they found. The father intrepidly stepped into the midst of the carnage, and, dipping his handkerchief in water, he baptized by sprinkling, many who implored it in their last moments; and obstinately refusing to fly, he was himself the last victim of the fury of the Iroquois, who killed him

him with their arrows, and mangled his body in a barbarous manner.

The people of New England, in 1648, sent to the governor and council of Canada, a proposal that there should be a perpetual peace between the two colonies, even though their mother-countries were at war; but it came to nothing. The Iroquois had discontinued their massacres for six months, and the christian Hurons continued to live with their usual indolence, as if they had no enemy to guard against, when, on the sixteenth of March, 1649, before day, a body of one thousand Iroquois suddenly surprised the village of St. Ignatius, and butchered or took prisoners most of the inhabitants.

Two hundred of the Iroquois, the main body of whom had now returned to St. Louis, approached St. Mary's, a populous and well-fortified village, but fell into an ambuscade of the Hurons, who killed many of them, and, forcing the rest to fly, pursued them as far as St. Louis, where themselves, who were but a handful, were surprised in their turn, and surrounded by their enemies. They defended themselves, however, very bravely; all of them were wounded, many were killed, some were made prisoners, but none of them escaped; and in them fell the flower of the Huron nation. The people at St. Mary's were overwhelmed with consternation and despair, at hearing of this defeat; but the Iroquois, the next day,

day were seized with a panic, and returned home, where they put their prisoners to death by the torture.—The missionaries amongst the Indians of St. Mary's, upon this, formed a project for collecting together the remains of that nation, and transporting them to some place of safety, where they could not be disturbed by their enemies. For this purpose they proposed the isle of Manitoualin; a narrow spot, about forty leagues in length, lying in the south part of lake Huron; but this proposal was rejected by the Hurons, because it was at too great a distance from their native country; and they pitched upon the little island of St. Joseph, lying within sight of their ancient habitations. This place was soon peopled, and the inhabitants grew numerous, on account of the convenience of fishing and hunting in the neighbourhood; while the missionaries, instead of instructing them in the rational parts of christianity, and the arts of industry, spent their time in mystic devotions, and baptized three thousand Indians in a short time.—The summer passed over without any thing remarkable happening; but winter overtook them in a most lamentable situation. So fervid had been their devotion, that they had sowed little or nothing; their fishery had turned out very ill, and all their game was soon destroyed; so that in the autumn they began to feel the approaches of famine. This calamity was followed by a pestilence; and while the inhabitants of the isle of St. Joseph were plunged

plunged into these miseries, news came to the Huron nation that three hundred Iroquois had taken the field, and seemed to meditate some blow against the Tionnontatez Hurons. This tribe was so populous, that one of their villages, that of St. John, contained upwards of six hundred families. The Huron chiefs, far from keeping upon their guard, took the field in quest of their enemies, who, giving them the slip, marched directly towards St. John's, where they killed and took prisoners all they met with, and put to death father Garnier.

In the mean time, the miserable remains of the St. Joseph colony had left it; and many of them had perished in the lake, the ice breaking under them. Those who remained alive, who did not exceed three hundred, applied to father Ragueneau, their missionary, to shelter them from the Iroquois, by conducting them to Quebec, where, under the protection of the governor, they might cultivate the lands that should be assigned them. The father, by the advice of his brethren, consented. They set out by the river of the Ouatawas, and, despair rendering them hardy, they marched on without being attacked by their enemies. On the road they met Bressani, who, being informed of the fate of the christian Hurons, thought he could not do better than go back with Ragueneau; and accordingly returned to Quebec. — Such of the Hurons as could not be persuaded to leave their native country

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try, experienced great variety of miseries. Some of them fled for shelter to other nations, who thereby drew upon them the arms of the Iroquois; others of them settled under the protection of the English, on the borders of Pennsylvania; and some of the inhabitants of the villages which remained still undestroyed followed a different course; for they submitted to the Iroquois, and were taken into their friendship and alliance.

The increase of people at Quebec laid the French colonists there under inconceivable difficulties to subsist them; and they found themselves become almost as contemptible as their Indian allies had been, in the eyes of the Iroquois; whilst those of the Hurons who had taken refuge under the cannon of Quebec, having now wherewithal to subsist on, forgot their former miseries, and passed from despondency to presumption. They associated themselves with their countrymen at Sylleri, with the Algonquins of Trois Rivières, and the gleanings of their countrymen who had escaped the hatchets of the Iroquois, and madly formed amongst themselves a confederacy to exterminate the Iroquois, those professed enemies to the gospel. Setting out upon this ill concerted expedition, they dispatched a Huron, and an Algonquin, to reconnoitre a village of the Agniers, which they were to attack. The former fell into the hands of the Agniers, and he betrayed his countrymen to the enemy, by bringing them to the place where
they

they were lying asleep. They were awakened by a discharge of musquetry, which killed or disabled their best warriors; for the Agniers had time to take their aim. Some of them, however, fought their way into a neighbouring wood, where they saved themselves; but all the rest were either killed or burnt alive, excepting two, who escaped to Quebec with the melancholy news.—

The French at Tadoussac found it for their interest to indulge the Algonquins and Hurons, who repaired thither, with the use of brandy, which kept them in a perpetual state of intoxication; and their passion for strong liquors grew every day so violent and intractable, that no authority, either civil or ecclesiastic, could put a stop to it. D'Ailleboust was now recalled, and M. de Lauson, one of the chief directors of the Quebec company, was nominated to succeed him; but he did not arrive at his government till the next year. He had great experience in the affairs of the colony, and had negotiated the restitution of Quebec by the English; but was amazed to find the colony in so miserable a state upon his arrival. The Iroquois marched up to the very mouth of the French cannon without fear, and insulted them on all hands. Bochart, a man of capacity and virtue, was then the French governor at Trois Rivières, and had prevented the vice of drunkenness from infecting that settlement, which, under him, was in very good order. Perceiving that the Indians extend-

ed their insults to his government, he somewhat unadvisedly marched out in person against them, and was killed. His death increased the insolence of the savages, and the new governor of Quebec found himself obliged to inclose Sylleri with a wall. The Abenaguais were the only christian nation whom the Iroquois did not attack; but they were probably restrained by the respect they bore for the English. Father Dreuilletes, who seems to have had the same zeal, but a much greater capacity, than his brother missionaries, had been long employed with great success in converting these, and having won their affection, he formed them into a barrier against the English settlers. — It was about this time that father Buteux, in travelling to convert Indians in undiscovered regions of the north, was murdered by the Iroquois. At last, the perseverance and zeal of the Jesuits began to abate, and some of them returned to Europe; amongst whom was father Bressani. — The settlement at Montreal, partook of the general calamities. Maisonneuve, who still continued to govern there, found himself obliged to go to Old France for fresh recruits; and, in 1653, he returned with, one hundred men, and a female house-keeper, called Margaret Bourgeois, who afterwards instituted the order of the daughters of the congregation. While Maisonneuve was employed in guarding Montreal from surprises, about sixty of the savage tribe called Onnondagans, presented themselves at
the

the gate of the fort, and demanded a parley, upon which some of them were admitted into the place, and declared that their nation was disposed to treat of a peace. They accompanied their speech with presents, and fresh assurances of their sincerity. Upon this, they were suffered to return to their chiefs with the terms offered by the governor, and in their way they engaged the tribes of Onneyouth and Goyogouin to join them in the negociation. The head of the latter not only named his deputies to go to Montreal, but sent along with him a belt of wampum, as a token that five hundred Iroquois were on their march to attack Trois Rivières. Maisonneuve acquainting Lauson with his danger, the latter immediately assembled all the Hurons he could get together, and attacked a body of the Agniers, whom he defeated, making their chief and many of their leaders prisoners. Another party of the Iroquois marched up to the very gates of Quebec, where they made some prisoners*.

* Amongst these was father Poncet, who was the darling of the province, whom they carried into captivity. Forty French, and a number of savages instantly entered into an association to deliver their missionary, and, setting out from Quebec, discovered the names of Poncet, and his fellow prisoners, engraved on the trunk of a tree, with the following note underneath: "Six Hurons now naturalized Iroquois, and four Agniers have carried us off, but as yet done us no harm." They soon had reason to alter their tone; for when they came to the Agnier village, where an assembly was held, to deliberate on the fate of the prisoners, a woman came up to the party, and presented them with

Peace was at last concluded, and a reciprocal confidence seemed to have been settled on both sides. Next year father Le Moyne was sent to Onondago, to ratify the treaty, and was so well satisfied with the cordial reception he had from the savages, that he offered to take up his residence with them, which was readily accepted; an apartment was assigned him, and he accordingly took possession of it. He then set out for Quebec, loaded with presents from all the Iroquois chiefs.

a string of wampum, that she might be permitted to cut off one of the missionary's fingers. This favour was granted her; and, to the great joy of the missionary, who it seems used to perform the sacred ceremonies with the right hand, it was the fore finger of the left hand that she cut off. Next day he was abandoned to the barbarous treatment of the children of the several villages through which he was to be carried; and, at last, another council assembled, who pronounced sentence, that the Frenchman, his companion, should be burnt alive, which was executed immediately; and that the father should be put into the hands of a matron who had lost a near relation in the war; and she gave the missionary his life. Three days after, an Iroquois came express from Trois Rivières with an account that peace was upon the point of being concluded, and that Ononthio had obliged the Iroquois to give him hostages, whose lives were to be answerable for that of father Poncet.

This news entirely altered the father's situation. They carried him to Orange, the nearest Dutch settlement, where he was new clothed, his own cloaths being torn to pieces. Upon his return, he was conducted from one canton to another, with all demonstrations of the most sincere friendship; and at last arrived, on the fifth of November, at Quebec, where he was received with the greatest joy by his countrymen.

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However, before he had reached there, a proof of the little dependance that is to be had upon the faith of those savages. Being in a canoe with two Onnondagans, and followed by other canoes, in which were Algonquins and Hurons, when they came near Montreal they were surrounded by several boats filled with Agniers, who poured into his canoes a fire of musquetry, which killed all the Algonquins and Hurons, and one of his Onnondagans; and the enemy then took and bound the father himself, as if he had been a prisoner of war. They at the same time told the surviving Onnondagan, that he was at liberty to return home. But the savage declared, that he never would abandon the missionary, and threatened the Agniers with the resentment of the Upper Iroquois; so that the barbarians, perceiving him to be resolute and inflexible in his purpose, unbound the father, and replaced him under the care of his faithful guide, who conducted him to Montreal. This action was disavowed by the Agnier canton: but these Indians perceiving, that their own importance was every day diminishing, secretly resolved to break the peace, which obliged them never to appear armed in the French colony, and not to interrupt the missionaries in their functions. In a short time a missionary was found murdered and scalped near Sylleri, and it was plain, that the barbarians had resolved upon a rupture.

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This, and many other acts of treachery, at last obliged the French to take the field, which they did, the rather because they knew the Agniers could not, at that time, be supported by the upper Iroquois; and this had so good an effect that those barbarians apologized for their conduct, and not only offered to enter into the treaty without any restriction, but earnestly petitioned to have a missionary sent to instruct them.—About this time, the Iroquois so effectually exterminated a nation called the Eries, that no traces of them now remain, nor could it be known they ever had existed, were it not for the great lake, on the borders of which they were situated, and, which, for that reason, still bears their name. The Iroquois, at the beginning of that war, were worsted; but they pursued it with such unrelenting fury as to effect the catastrophe we have mentioned. The French were under great apprehensions, that this success of the Iroquois might encourage them to renew the war, which indeed might have been the case, had not the canton of the Onondagans been so well disposed to christianity, that they refused to enter into the quarrel. They went farther; for they sent father Dablon, with a commission from their chiefs, to Quebec, to persuade M. Lauson to send a number of French to settle amongst them. Dablon, attended by a numerous retinue of the natives, arrived at Quebec; and notwithstanding all that an ancient Huron, who had lived long

long in the Onondagan country, could do to dissuade him, Lauson resolved to grant the request. Fifty Frenchmen, with the Sieur Dupuis, to command them, were chosen for the new settlement. Three missionaries were assigned them, and though the harvest had been but indifferent, Dupuis was furnished with provisions to supply his colony for a year, and to sow all the ground that should be assigned him.

The Iroquois raised four hundred men, whom they sent out to attack the party under Dupuis on their march; but, missing their blow, they fell upon some stray canoes, which they pillaged, pretending that they did not know they belonged to the French, but thought they were Hurons or Algonquins. The flower of the christian Hurons were at this time settled, to the number of six hundred, in the isle of Orleans, where they had begun to cultivate the grounds; but they were so careless, that the Iroquois found means in one day to carry off fifty of them to their own country, where they were put to death with most horrible tortures, without being pursued by Lauson, though the barbarians, on their way homewards insulted him under his own cannon.

The Iroquois having subdued the Hurons, next fell upon the Outawas, but the latter left their own country, and dispersed themselves through various parts of the continent, the bulk of them settling

settling on the borders of the river which still bears their name. After the entire destruction of the Huron habitations, they were joined by the Tionnon-tatez Hurons, and they moved southwards, till they came to the River Mississippi, where, at first, some of them made an alliance with the Sioux; but, breaking with them, they were reduced to the greatest misery, and obliged to divide themselves into little parties, wandering wherever they could find subsistence through the vast tracts lying to the eastward of the Mississippi. Two Frenchmen came up with about twenty of them, whom they conducted from the banks of lake Michigan, as they had some furs with them, to Quebec; where they were favourably received, on account of their civilities to their two French conductors. Lauson, hearing that a settlement of those Outawas had been made on the borders of lake Michigan, and seeing their furs to be of an excellent kind, immediately thought of sending some French to settle among them. Thirty young Frenchmen offered themselves volunteers for that service, nor was there wanting plenty of missionaries, as usual, to attend the Outawas on their return. The adventurers set out from Quebec, about the twelfth of August, 1656; but as they drew near Trois Rivières, they met with an advice-canoe, sent to inform them that a party of the Agniers was in the neighbourhood. Being thus put upon their guard, they escaped the ambuscade the barbarians had planted

planted for them, and arrived safe at Trois Rivières. The French adventurers landing there, began seriously to reflect upon the dangers they were about to encounter, especially as they saw their savage friends but ill provided for an engagement. All of them, therefore, but three, who would not abandon their ghostly fathers, refused to proceed. The Outawas, however, having provided themselves with fire-arms, with which they had been before entirely unacquainted, diverted themselves with firing them off, which, when they were re-embarked, instructed the Agniers, who watched them, in the route they had taken; and they had sufficient leisure to prepare a fresh ambuscade. They were then above the island of Montreal; and the Agniers, having chosen a proper station, poured into the six first canoes, which were filled with Hurons, all but father Garreau one of the missionaries, a full discharge of their fire-arms, which killed many of them; and then, the canoes being attacked hatchet in hand, all who did not fall by the first discharge, were killed or made prisoners. The Outawas, who were not engaged, came too late to prevent the mischief which they seemed resolved to revenge; but, after a brisk skirmish, they intrenched themselves, and the next day they departed with all imaginable secrecy, leaving behind them the two Jesuits, one of whom was mortally wounded, and the three Frenchmen.

The French underwent great hardships in their march to the country of the Onnondagans, being disappointed in their scheme of supporting themselves by hunting and fishing; and they must have perished for want of the mere necessities of life, had not the elders of the Onnondagans sent them provisions on the road in canoes. They were, at the same time, informed that a vast number of the Iroquois, and other savages were assembled on the borders of the lake Gunnentaha, to receive them; upon which M. Dupuys prepared to enter the country, and in such a manner as might strike the barbarians with respect. The French were received with all the marks of honour, and even devotion, that the savages could express. Their most remote cantons demanded missionaries for their instruction, and they were obliged to enlarge their chapel to receive their converts. To give the utmost proof of their friendship, when the heats of the country introduced distempers amongst the French, the savages cured them by medicines peculiar to themselves. Those friendly appearances imposed on the greatest part, but the most sensible amongst the French, advised their countrymen to be upon their guard, and to build a fort which might bridle the natives. This advice, however, could not be complied with, because of the poverty of New France; though the necessity of it became every day more and more apparent.

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The Hurons of the isle of Orleans, thinking they were not safe there, had removed to Quebec, and, in resentment for the French having, as they thought, abandoned them to their enemies, they had secretly sent a message to propose to the Agniers an union, and to become one people; and the latter had embraced the proposal; but the Hurons retracting it, they resolved to carry fire and sword, as they did, into their country. A great number of the straggling Hurons were accordingly put to death; and, at last, when the Agniers thought they had been sufficiently humbled, they sent a deputation of thirty of their chiefs to Quebec to conduct the Hurons to their country. This deputation behaved with intolerable haughtiness. The chief of them demanded an audience in a full assembly, which Lauson was weak enough to grant, and the manner in which he delivered himself, together with the haughtiness of his demands, was as extraordinary as the humility with which the French received them. —

The Hurons in general were greatly disgusted with this tameness; some of them were for joining the Onnondagans, to whom they had already made proposals for that purpose; others were for remaining in the protection of the French; but the tribe of the Bear remained firm to their engagements with the Agniers. Those points being settled, the council was re-assembled, and the Agnier deputies called in, Lauson himself having

the meanness to continue present. Father Le Moyne served as interpreter on this occasion, and thus addressed himself to the Agnier deputation, " Onnon-
" thio, said he, loves the Hurons, they are his
" children, but he does not hold them in pupil-
" lage; thou hast undertaken to conduct them
" hence; they are of age to chuse for themselves;
" he opens his arms, and gives them liberty to go
" whither they please: for my part, I will follow
" them wherever they go. If they repair, Ag-
" nier, to thy country, I will instruct thee like-
" wise in what manner the Author of all things is
" to be prayed to and adored; but I cannot flatter
" myself that thou wilt hear me; I know thee
" and thy indocility; but I will comfort myself
" with the Hurons. As to some canoes which
" have been demanded, if you want any, you must
" make them. We have not enough for ourselves."

The chief of the Bear tribe then addressed himself to the deputies in the following manner:
" My brother, I am yours;—I throw myself with
" my eyes shut into your canoes, I am resolved on
" every thing, even to die; but I intend that I
" and my family shall go first. I will suffer no
" others to embark with me; if afterwards the
" rest of my nation shall join us, it is well: but I
" shall be glad to see, before-hand, how you treat
" me." He then presented the deputation with
three belts, to prevail with them to treat him and
his family well. After this, the Bear tribe, and fa-
ther

ther Le Moyne embarked with the deputies ; and some days after their departure, deputies came from the Onnondagans on the same errand ; but were incensed, when they heard that the Bear tribe had gone off with the Agniers, and began to use threats against the Hurons, who made the best apology they could, but to very little purpose. Lauson was then obliged to interpose, and to tell them, That they were wanting in the respect they owed to their father ; that the Hurons in general were ready to follow them ; but that their wives and children were terrified at their threats and war-like appearance, which were very improper while they were applying to them as friends and brothers ; that if they would return to their country, and act regularly, the Hurons would wait for them at Montreal, and give hostages for the performance of all they had promised them. This speech, with good entertainment in eating and drinking for some days, pacified the deputies, and they returned home, seemingly well satisfied. But the deputation of the Onnondagans was detrimental to the interests of the French in Canada, because it exposed their weakness, and their inability to protect their friendly Indians. — They came, as had been stipulated at Quebec the year before, to carry with them the Hurons, who were accompanied by two Jesuits, and some Frenchmen. On the day of embarkation, the latter were surprised when the Onnondagans refused to suffer

suffer any but the Hurons to attend them. They, however, at last agreed to take some of the French, but were so obstinate against the Jesuits, who would by no means abandon their Huron disciples, that these were obliged to embark on board a canoe without any provision, but a small bag of meal. This specimen of the behaviour of the Onnondagans created many melancholy apprehensions amongst the Hurons, which were soon verified. A Huron woman had her brains beaten out by an Onnondagan chief, who attempted to ravish her; and soon after, a great number of the most considerable Hurons were massacred, and the survivors treated as slaves, some of them being even burned alive. The two missionaries and the four French, who attended the Hurons, expected every moment the same fate: but (for what reason does not appear) they were saved, and arrived with the convoy at Onnondago, where they understood from Dupuys, that a resolution had been taken by the savages to cut off all the French in their country*.

* This barbarous resolution took rise from the following occasion.—A body of Onneyouths had murdered three Frenchmen near Montreal; and D'Ailleboft, the French governor at Quebec, in the room of Lauson, who was recalled to France, seized and imprisoned all the Iroquois whom he could find in his colony, till he should receive satisfaction for the death of the Frenchmen. This exasperated the savage tribes; but instead of proceeding immediately to violences, they coolly resolved on the following scheme

Such

Such was the situation of French Canada, when the viscount D'Argenson, who had been appointed governor-general of New France, arrived at Quebec to take possession of his government. His

of murder. Father Le Moyne was to be sent, attended by a numerous convoy, to protect him, as they pretended, against the insults of the young savages, to treat of the ransom of the Iroquois. At the same time, large bodies of other Indians were to disperse themselves through the neighbourhood of Quebec, who, as soon as they heard of the deliverance of their countrymen, were to fall upon the French, and murder them wherever they could be found, and the colony under Dupuys was to undergo the same fate. Those savages are inconstant in their resolutions, and impatient till they come to action, when their motive is revenge; so that without waiting for Le Moyne, great bodies of the Agniers, Onneyouths, and Onnondagans, took the field with all their warlike equipages. This alarmed the suspicions of Dupuys; and being informed by a christian convert of the truth, he sent a courier to M. D'Ailleboust, to warn him of his danger. As to himself and his people, he could think of no expedient of safety but to fly; and he immediately set them to work to make boats in an outlying barn of the Jesuits, that they might not be discovered by the savages, and effected his escape, according to the French writers, in the following wonderful manner:—

A young Frenchman, the adopted son of one of the savages, persuaded his father of adoption, that he dreamed of one of those feasts, at which the guests are obliged to eat all that is served up; insisted that such a feast should be made, and said he should die if the smallest morsel was left. The affectionate Indian granted the son's request, and invited all the tribe to the feast, which was fixed for the fourteenth of March, the day on which the French were to attempt their escape. Every thing succeeded as the latter could wish:—the guests feasted under the sound of all the drums and trumpets of the village, till all of them fell fast asleep; and the

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first exercise of power there, was to detach about two hundred men, French and natives, against the Iroquois, but these could not come up with them. The savages marched next to surprise the settlement of Trois Rivières: they proposed to do this by amusing De la Potherie, the French commandant there, with a sham conference, and dispatched eight of their countrymen to Trois Rivières for that purpose: but Potherie was aware of their intention, and instantly seized on the eight savages, one of whom he detained in his own prison, and sent the other seven to the governor-general, by whose orders they were put to death; and this seasonable severity for some time restored tranquillity to the province.

In 1659, a bishop was sent to reside in Canada. The first thing this new prelate did, was to demand the famous father Jerome Lallemand, who

Frenchman, watching his opportunity, slipped out and joined his companions, who, favoured by the noise, had, by this time, got off in their boats; and M. Dupuys, after encountering vast difficulties and fatigues, arrived in fifteen days at Montreal.—There he found consternation and confusion spread through all the colony. Parties of the Iroquois covered the country, and, without declaring themselves enemies, obliged the French to keep within their walls. Towards the end of May, father Le Moyne, who had been preaching among the Agniers, was by them safely conducted, according to their promise, to Montreal; and they afterwards joined the other Iroquois; upon which, those savages immediately broke out into open hostilities, and murdered the Algonquins, even under the cannon of the fort of Quebec.

then

then presided in the college of La Flèche, from the general of the Jesuits to attend him to Canada; and his request was accordingly complied with. He, however, introduced a total alteration into the ecclesiastical discipline and government of Canada, where no priests but Jesuits had hitherto found access; for he first carried over with him monks of other orders, who were instituted to benefices; but Montreal and its dependancies remained under the direction of the fathers of the seminary of St. Sulpice; and having obtained from the pope a brief, appointing him apostolical vicar of New France, and being amused with daily accounts of discoveries of nations to the north and west of Lake Huron; he prepared, in concert with father Lallemant, who had been again named superior-general of the missions, for their conversion.

In the year 1660, an Algonquin met with numbers of his countrymen near Hudson's Bay, who had fled thither from the Iroquois. He found the natives as well as his countrymen there, so well disposed to join with the French against the Iroquois, that they sent him with presents to the governor-general of New France, to assure him of their friendship and assistance. About the same time, two Frenchmen, who had wintered on the borders of the upper lake, by travelling westward, discovered the nation of the Sioux, who, at that time, had never heard of the French, and who were but little known, even to

the Hurons and Algonquins. The Huron nations of the Tionnontatez and the Outawas, whom we have already mentioned, trusting to their firearms, sought to make their quarters good amongst the Sioux, to whom they fled for protection, and even killed some of them; but these people, though startled at first, attacked their guests in a body, and defeated a great number of them, while they massacred others, whom they drove into a kind of a pool, where unawares they found themselves entangled, and not one man escaped death from the arrows of the enemy. This determined the Hurons to seek their habitations elsewhere; and they settled to the south-east of the western point of the upper lake.

The Iroquois remained masters of all the open country, who ravaged it from Montreal to Quebec. A body of seven hundred of them had defeated a large party of French and Indians, and many of the colonists were making dispositions to embark again for Old France. — Even the nuns were obliged to fly from their monasteries, to take refuge at Montreal and Quebec; and so closely had the savages blocked up the French within their walls, that there was all the appearance of an approaching famine; the Frenchmen, in many places, not daring to stir abroad, either to reap or sow; and, towards the end of winter, their enemies appeared in more numerous bodies, and every where butchered the French and Indians. Amongst the former,

former, some persons of rank lost their lives ; and amongst the latter, the women, rather than they would fall into the hands of the Iroquois, fought as bravely as the men. To heighten their misfortunes, the inhabitants were attacked by a kind of hooping cough, which proved epidemical and turned into a pleurisy that carried off great numbers. — But while this deplorable state of the colony continued, the councils of the Onondagans took a favourable turn for the French. It seems that, amongst those savages, the matrons form a considerable part of the government ; and the men, knowing that most of them were sincere converts, and friends to the missionaries, had carefully concealed from their females the intended massacre of the French under M. Dupuys. On discovering that the French and the missionaries were gone, the women and their daughters celebrated a general mourning, and, it is said, asserted their prerogative from the usurpations of the men so resolutely that they set at liberty all the French prisoners, amounting to twenty, and converted one of their cabins into a chapel, where great numbers of christians prayed every day ; and in effecting this great revolution, they were assisted by the christians of the cantons of Goyogouin and Onneyouth, who continued in the faith. Soon after this news came the Iroquois disappeared ; and, towards the end of July, 1661, two canoes, with a white flag, appeared before Montreal. Being suf-

ferred to approach, they were found to be deputies from the cantons of Onondago and Goyogouin; and the deputy from the latter had not only the best interest of any man in his canton, but was the most determined friend the French had amongst all the savages. They brought with them four Frenchmen, whom they proposed to exchange for eight Goyogouin prisoners, and to set at liberty all their remaining French captives on the like terms. They presented Maisonneuve, at the same time, with a letter of the remaining French prisoners, informing him of the good treatment they received, but at the same time, that if the proposal of their exchange were rejected, they must infallibly undergo the flames. Maisonneuve, not thinking himself sufficiently authorised to return an answer to those propositions, sent an express with them to the governor-general, and, in the mean while, lodged the deputies in his fort. D'Argenson, who, by this time, had become peevish and sour by his situation, and had demanded his recall, with some difficulty agreed to the proposals; but was at first at a loss to find a missionary, who would venture into the savage country, which the Indians insisted on as an indispensable preliminary of the accommodation; but his uneasiness was soon over; for the zealous father Le Moyne cheerfully undertook the embassy.

D'Argenson was succeeded in his government by the baron D'Avaugour, who had been bred up in
the

the wars of Hungary, and was esteemed an honest man, as well as a good officer, yet in other respects was very ill qualified to be a governor-general of New France. Having visited the posts of Canada, he appeared highly surprised and disappointed at seeing them so weak, and openly declared, that if the French court did not send him the supplies and re-inforcements they had promised him, he would leave his government, without waiting for the appointment of his successor. By this time Le Moyne had left Quebec, while the fathers Dreuilletes and Dablon sailed up the river Saguenay, as far as the source of the river Nekouba, thereby to get a passage into the North Sea.—After they had passed the Lake of St. John, they found some savages, whom they converted to christianity, about the source of the River Nekouba, beyond which they could not proceed, on account of the Iroquois, who were approaching, and had lately destroyed a whole nation. — Though the different tribes and townships of those savages are independant of one another, and though each adopts a form of government, as custom or caprice directs, yet they commonly have some person of high distinction among them, whom they consider as the chief of their nation, and who guides them in their general deliberations. The resolution taken by the Onnondagans to massacre Dupuys, and his people, was only that of the tribe which had sent deputies to Montreal ; for, from what follows,

lows, it does not appear to have been the general sense of the nation to break with the French. Father Le Moyne, in his travels to the Onondagan country, escaped several dangers from the Agniers, the Onneyouths, and the Tsonnonthouans, who had no chief in the deputation to Montreal. When he came within two leagues of Onondago, he was surprised to be met by Garakonthie, the grand chief of the whole nation, and lord of that canton in particular ; as he knew that those savages seldom or never advance above a quarter of a mile to meet their deputies on their return. But this Garakonthie was a very extraordinary personage, and had nothing about him of the savage, but his birth and education. By his great credit with his canton he had saved the lives of all the French prisoners his people had made, and had even the address to deliver many who were in the hands of the Agniers ; and he was incessantly labouring to bring about a firm alliance between the French and his countrymen.

On the twelfth of August the deputies of Onondago, Goyogouin, and Tsonnonthouan, assembled in Garakonthie's cabin, to which Le Moyne was invited. He accordingly repaired thither, and opened his negotiation in a solemn and masterly manner. Those Indians having deliberated upon the father's proposals, determined that nine French prisoners should be sent to Onnonthio, but that they would reserve the others in compliment to him,

him, to keep him company during the winter ; and that Garakonthie should be appointed head of the deputation which was to be sent to Montreal to conclude the peace.

In the middle of September, Garakonthie set out upon his embassy ; and, upon his arrival at Montreal, he was received with distinctions due to the great services he had done the colony. In many private conferences he had there with the governor-general, the latter conceived so high an opinion of his sincerity, as well as capacity, that, upon his promising him to return in the spring with the remaining French prisoners, all the Iroquois captives were delivered into his hands. He imagined, that the superior cantons of the Iroquois were so far involved in war with the Andastes, and the Agniers, with other nations, supported by the Abenaguais, that the desire of peace amongst all the Iroquois would become general : but he soon received intelligence, that the Iroquois were victorious over all their enemies, whom they had either conquered, or forced to sue for peace. The Onnondagans hearing of this, and that the Agniers had again pushed their ravages to the very gates of Montreal, took arms against the French. Being no longer awed by the presence of Garakonthie, two hundred of them invaded the French colonies, and, attacking a great many of the inhabitants of Montreal, who were at work in the fields, they cut in pieces the town-major, who had sallied out with twenty-six

fix foldiers, to bring off the people of Montreal. In the mean while Le Moyne continued to exercise his functions amongst the Onnondagans, notwithstanding the hostilities their countrymen had been guilty of against the French; and, by a prudent course of dissimulation, he gained his ends. Garakonthie, loaded with valuable presents, and, attended by the Iroquois captives, arrived at this critical juncture at Onnondago, and, though greatly startled at the alteration of his people's sentiments, he acted with so much address and firmness, that he not only obtained a ratification of the treaty he had concluded, but the delivery of all the French prisoners into the hands of father Le Moyne, excepting one, who was put to death by his master, because he refused to join himself to a female Indian, being already a married man.

The governor now wrote in the strongest terms to the court of France for re-inforcements, by Boucher, the commandant of Trois Rivières, who was an honest man, and extremely well acquainted with the affairs of Canada. The French king, upon his representations, appeared to be greatly surprised that so promising a colony should have been so much neglected, and immediately ordered four hundred of his troops to embark for Canada, to strengthen the most exposed posts. Their arrival at Quebec, and Demont's promise of farther re-inforcements next year, gave new spirits to the colony; but they were soon damped by the rash
conduct

conduct of the governor-general. The strictest orders had been issued by him for preventing the selling any brandy or spirituous liquors to the savages; and a Quebec woman having been detected in this fact, was immediately carried to prison. Her tears and the intercessions of her relations prevailed with father Lallemand to apply for her release to the governor, who, with a strange haughtiness, answered, that, since the crime was not punishable in that woman, it should not be so in any other person. What is still worse, he adhered so strictly to this declaration, that he thought it a point of honour not to retract it. This licence introduced such a spirit of debauchery, not only among the Indians, but amongst the French soldiers, that the clergy were insulted, and all kind of order and decency in the colony was disregarded; upon which the bishop, despairing of being able to do any service by his authority, resolved to embark for France, and there to lay his complaints before the king.

About this time Canada was visited with most terrible tempests, fiery meteors and earthquakes. Trees were torn up by the roots, mountains overturned, whole provinces wrapped in flames, issuing in a most portentous manner from the subterraneous caverns of the earth. The troubled ocean cast on shore its monsters. All nature was convulsed, and trembled as at its approaching dissolution. The clergy and religious.

orders considered all these phenomena as immediate judgments sent from heaven upon the sins of the people. They magnified these calamities, sufficiently terrible in themselves, and continued perpetually to exhort the Canadians to repentance, and an amendment of life, which indeed was now become highly and indispensably necessary ; and it was afterwards observed by them, that though nothing was more plain than that all these calamities proceeded from supernatural causes, yet that Heaven, merciful in its chastisements, had not permitted any of the inhabitants to perish amidst the horrors of its judgements. At the same time they took great pains to foretel a still more terrible catastrophe, if the people, obstinate in their wickedness, should not turn from those evil courses which had awakened the anger of the offended Deity.

Their remonstrances were not lost ; they not only brought the professors of christianity to a due sense of their crimes and irregularities, but occasioned great numbers of sincere conversions amongst the natives, so that nothing was now to be seen, but public penances, fastings, alms, pilgrimages, and processions ; and the illicit commerce in spirituous liquors was solemnly decried and detested. Upon the whole, though perhaps, the Jesuits have not stuck to strict truth in their representations of these amazing incidents, yet the face of nature in Canada, to this day, affords frequent evidences that the earthquakes and hurricanes,

canes, we have mentioned, were the most dreadful any country ever suffered, that was not entirely destroyed. The consternation even reached the Iroquois, who were so amazed, that though they again appeared in arms near Montreal, they lost all courage, and were beaten in several small encounters by the French and their Indians. The small-pox, soon after this, swept off great numbers of the savages ; and, at last, they came to be so well disposed towards a peace, that the Onnondagans not only invited the French to resume their former settlement amongst them, but offered to send their daughters as hostages to Quebec, there to be educated by the Ursuline nuns, and seemed sincerely disposed to favour the christian religion.

[Thus it often happens, that what the most rational arguments, the force of virtue, and the sacred authority of religion itself cannot effect, a series of accidents, arising merely from natural causes, is found sufficient to bring about. Affliction is generally the best reformer of depraved mankind. In the height of prosperity and the hurry of the passions, men are deaf to remonstrance, and insensible to the calm voice of Reason ; but when Adversity has seized upon them, when misfortunes following misfortunes, have oppressed and weighed them down ; when Anguish has taken place of Pride, and Grief has softened the heart, then Vice first appears in her own hateful colours, and is detested for the miseries entailed upon her ; then Vir-

tue appears most lovely, and is courted for that happiness which she brings with her as a dowry.— It is, probably, for this reason that we meet with so many examples of penitence among those whose crimes have ruined their persons or estates ; and, on the other hand, so few, where fortune has smiled upon successful villany. The notion of a particular providence, has, in some cases, as in this before us, contributed to work wonderful reformation ; yet, if the matter be impartially considered, we shall find that a person has occasion only to consult history and his own experience in life, to be convinced of the absolute absurdity of such an opinion.—But as arguments of this kind do not fall within our province, after having said thus much on the subject, we shall leave them to theologians, and proceed with our history.]

The company of Canada, at this period, resigned their right to the French king, who appointed De Mesy to succeed the baron D'Avaugour as governor, and the Sieur Gaudais to go as his commissary, and to take possession, in his name, of all New France. Along with those two gentlemen a body of troops, and one hundred families, for peopling the colony, embarked, besides other officers of all denominations. The commissary began by receiving the oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, and establishing new courts, where new processes of justice were introduced ; but those regulations had a very different effect from what his most christian
majesty

majesty expected. The French Canadians, till that time, had but very few differences among themselves, concerning matters of property; and those few were always decided by the governor-general, upon the principles of equity and good sense. But no sooner did the above-mentioned regulations take place, than the Canadians, from being amongst themselves the most inoffensive people in the world, became the most litigious. A council of state was likewise established in the year 1663. It was composed of De Mesy, the governor-general, the bishop of Petrée, Robert the intendant, four counsellors, whom they were to name, a procurator-general, and a head secretary.

The Sieur Gaudais returned, according to order, to France, that he might make a report to the king of France, of the state and dispositions of the colony, the conduct of D'Avaugour, whose severity had been greatly complained of, and the manner in which the new governor, and regulations had been received. All this he did; and D'Avaugour having returned to Europe, had his master's permission to re-enter into the emperor's service against the Turks in Hungary, where he was killed the next year. But the arrival of re-inforcements from France retarded the restoration of peace with the Iroquois; for when it was on the point of being concluded, a Huron, who was a naturalized Iroquois, spread a report, that, before he left Trois
Rivieres,

Rivieres, he saw thousands of soldiers landing at Quebec, and that the French were in full march to destroy the dwellings, and exterminate the race of the Iroquois. This report broke off, for that time, the negociation. The savages stood on their guard, but without venturing to invade the colony. Perceiving, however, by degrees, that the French had no hostile intentions; towards the winter they made incursions into the northern parts, where they were guilty of enormous cruelties.

But such was the spirit of those barbarians, that though, in all probability, they believed the first report of the French immense re-inforcements, it did not produce from them one advance towards a submission; and it required all the prudence, and credit of Garakonthie, to keep them from breaking into farther hostilities. He succeeded so far that he assembled the French prisoners, who had been taken, in the cantons, and gave them an escort of twenty Onnondagans, to conduct them to Quebec. In their voyage thither, they were attacked, on the sudden, by a party of Algonquins, who took them for enemies, and killed several of the Iroquois; but the French escaped unhurt. This accident must have produced an immediate, and a fresh rupture, had not Garakonthie persuaded the Onnondagans, that it was owing to a mistake. Some months after, the Goyogouin chief agreeably surprised the colony at Quebec with a pacific visit. He presented

presented the governor-general with belts, on the parts of all the cantons, excepting that of Onneyouth, and declared, that they were fully resolved to live in peace with the colony. The general, though pleased with the compliment, put on an air of superiority, and acquainted the Indian, that he was resolved to be upon his guard against a nation that had been so often trusted by his predecessors, and had so often betrayed them. He, however, treated the chief with great politeness and civility. It was about this time that the colony of Canada was deeply affected by the English having gotten possession of New York, as we have already mentioned in the history of that province.

The bishop had been the main instrument in procuring the recal of the late governor d'Avau-
gour, and recommended De Mesy to succeed him: yet he scarcely was fixed in his government, when the bishop found he had mistaken his man. The bishop patronised the Jesuits, De Mesy hated them; and the colony was split into two parties. The bishop took advantage of some unguarded acts, which the governor could not disprove. But, notwithstanding all the power of the Jesuits, M. Colbert, then first minister of France, though obliged to give way to the recal of De Mesy, did not conceal his opinion, that the good fathers were rather an over-match for the credit that ought to be vested in a governor-general of such a province, and that care ought to be taken to circumscribe their power,
and

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and to send over governors, who could do it with more temper and prudence*.

The recal of Mefy being resolved on, the king nominated Daniel de Remi, lord of Courcelles, to be his successor. and M. Talon, to be intendant, in the room of Robert, who never had gone to New France. A commission had likewise been issued out to empower these persons together with the marquis De Tracy, who was then in America, to enquire into the conduct of De Mefy ; and, if they thought him culpable, to put him under arrest, and to try him. At the same time orders were expedited, for raising

* When the old Canada company resigned all their rights in that country, to his most christian majesty, he transferred the same to the West-India company, together with the power of nominating all the governors and officers of Canada; but the company, politely enough, declined that honour, and left those nominations in the hands of his majesty, on pretence that they were not sufficiently acquainted with the affairs of the province to make a proper choice of its high officers. In consequence of this fact of self-denial, De Mefy had been appointed governor-general of New France, and his majesty also nominated the marquis De Tracy, his viceroy over all America, with a commission to visit the French Islands, and then to repair to New France, where he was to give orders for the future establishment of the colony, and for securing it against the Iroquois. This commission was expedited a little before the disputes between De Mefy and the bishop began, and when his most christian majesty had, in consequence of petitions from the colony, come to a serious resolution to send thither a most effectual and powerful supply, both of troops and inhabitants.

colonists,

colonists, and for sending the regiment of Carignan Salieres, (part of which was with De Tracy, who was appointed viceroy) to Canada. In June, the same year, De Tracy arrived there, with three companies of that regiment, and instantly drove back the Iroquois, who had again begun their inroads, by which seasonable check the inhabitants got in their harvest without any molestation. Soon after, the rest of the regiment of Carignan arrived with their colonel, M. De Salieres, together with Courcelles and Talon, on board a powerful squadron, which carried a great number of families, tradesmen, artied servants, the first horses that had ever been seen in Canada, horned cattle, and sheep. The viceroy then gave orders for building three forts towards the mouth of the River Richelieu, one upon the spot where Fort Richelieu had stood, the command of which was given to M. Sorel, from whom it is now called Fort Sorel. The second was built at the foot of a rapid river, called St. Louis; but afterwards took the name of its governor, M. Chambly, who was a great proprietor of land there, and this was built on the ruins of a former fort. The third fort was erected by M. De Salieres, and was called St. Theresa. The construction of these, at first struck the Iroquois with consternation; and, towards the end of December, Garakonthie arrived with the deputies of his canton, of Goyogouin and of Tsonnonthouan. After delivering his presents, and mak-

ing the general compliments of submission, from the three colonies, he uttered a kind of funeral oration upon the death of father Le Moyne, which had happened some time before, in terms that affected and astonished his hearers. He touched, but with great modesty, on his own services to the colony, and concluded with a demand of peace, and the freedom of all the prisoners of the three cantons, that had been made since the last exchange:—the request accordingly was granted.

No sooner had they taken leave of the viceroy, than two bodies of regulars were ordered out against the Agniers, and the Onneyouths, under Courcelles, and Sorel. The Onneyouths immediately offered to make their submission, by sending deputies to Quebec, who are said to have been charged with the like commission on the part of the Agniers; but they failed in the negotiation; for the last mentioned savages had still parties in the field, one of which killed De Chafy, the viceroy's nephew, and two other French officers. Sorel was all this while upon his march against the Agniers, but on approaching one of their villages, he was met by a troop of the warriors. The chief of whom was a bastard Fleming, who, approaching, made signals for a parley, and acquainted Sorel, that he was going to Quebec to treat of peace with the viceroy; upon which Sorel, without any hesitation, accompanied him thither; and being well received by the viceroy, he was followed in a day or two by another Agnier deputy. He too was
civilly

civilly received; and so far were they from being suspected not to be real deputies, that the viceroy entertained them at his table, where mention was made of M. de Chafy's death. Upon this, the last arrived barbarian, with a savage air of triumph, stretching forth his arm, said, "Here, is the very hand that killed him." "Then," replied the viceroy, "it never shall kill another;" and he ordered him immediately to be strangled by the common hangman, which was performed in the presence of the bastard Fleming, who was sent to prison.

Courcelles, who knew nothing of what had passed at Quebec, was then at Corlar, a settlement belonging to Albany, upon the borders of the Iroquois country; where, before he entered upon hostilities with the Iroquois, he prevailed with the English commandant to promise that he would give no assistance to the Agniers. Courcelles performed this journey in the midst of winter, walking with snow shoes, and carrying his arms and provisions like the meanest soldier. When he entered the country of the Agniers, he found their villages abandoned, and that their children, women, and old men, had secured themselves in the woods, while their warriors had marched against other nations, till they should know the result of the Onneyouths negociation. All he could do was to kill or pick up a few stragglers of the savages. Returning to Quebec, he found De Tracy,

though then above seventy years of age, ready to set out on an expedition against the Onneyouths and the Agniers. His army was composed of six hundred regulars, the same number of Canadians, and one hundred savages of different nations; but he carried with him no more than two pieces of artillery. While he was setting out, new deputies came from the two cantons to negotiate an accommodation, but they were detained prisoners, and the army began its march, in three divisions, on the fourteenth of September. Their magazines of provisions were calculated to serve them till he should arrive in the enemy's country, where they counted upon being plentifully supplied; but, before they had got half way, they found their provisions at an end; and they must actually have returned, had it not been for a wood of chestnuts; on which they lived, till they reached the enemy's land. A body of Algonquins, who marched before the first division, alarmed the inhabitants of the first village they reached, which the French general entered, with all the display of military pomp: but he found no inhabitants there, excepting a few old men and women, who were too decrepid to fly. Upon searching farther, they discovered an amazing quantity of provisions buried underground, sufficient to serve all the colony for two years. — De Tracy, instead of burning the provisions he could not carry off, contented himself with burning the cabins, of which he did not leave one standing

standing in the whole canton; and marched against the savages, who were too wise to hazard an engagement with him, but bade him defiance in their woods and fastnesses.

It was now towards the end of October, and, consequently, too late to proceed against the canton of Onneyouth. In De Tracy's return, his troops suffered greatly from the fatigues of their march, and an officer and some soldiers were drowned in passing Lake Champlain. Upon his arrival at Quebec, he ordered some of his prisoners to be hanged, and sent home the others with the Flemish bastard. The last act of his government at New France was to establish the West-India company in all the rights of the old Canada company, and then he returned to France.—Canada, notwithstanding all his omissions, might, however, date the æra of her importance from his administration. The late expedition against the Iroquois, had it been properly pursued, must have rendered her colonists respectable; but her government, notwithstanding the sensible remonstrances of Talon, went upon wrong principles. The bigots at the court of Old France, who guided that king's conscience, were devoted to the Jesuits, who appear, by all their own relations, to have made the conversion of the Indians the primary object of the colony; whereas, in pursuing those conversions, as they did, it was threatened with ruin; because the savages no sooner became converts than they lived like

like drones, upon the public stock, and indulged their irresistible propensity to indolence.

The ascendancy of the Jesuit counsels at the court of France could not, however, render it entirely insensible of their practices amongst the savages; and therefore repeated orders were sent to Talon, that the missionaries should, by all means, instruct the children of the savages in the French language. Talon still exerted amazing talents in promoting the prosperity and commerce of the colony. He had been told of silver mines that were to be found in Canada; but in this he was soon undeceived by experience; other mines, however, were discovered in great abundance, and especially some of iron; and Talon formed a scheme for manufacturing it, and shipping it to Europe from Gaspey, then in possession of the French. In August, 1666, he employed La Tessarie to discover mines; and he found a very fine one of iron, with a prospect of copper and other mines. Soon after, he himself went to France, and prevailed with Colbert to send La Potardiere, a famous miner, to Canada, where he made a most favourable report of the mines, particularly those about the town of Champ-lain, and Cape Magdalen, between Quebec and Trois Rivières. In the year 1668, full liberty of commerce was published in Canada; and this, together with the discovery of the mines, and a tannery, which had been set up with great appearance of success, raised high expectations in those who had

had any concern with Canada. Yet notwithstanding all the promising appearances of this colony, from its mines and manufactures, they came to nothing. The Jesuits who had the ascendancy, thought, perhaps, if the inhabitants should once be possessed of a spirit of commerce, their functions must cease of course. The Outawas, whom we have already mentioned to be seated on the upper lake, now drove a great trade with the French Canadians in furs, and solicited that a Jesuit might be sent amongst them, in hopes that other French would follow him, and make a settlement in their country. This request was granted, notwithstanding the dreadful fate of other missionaries; and father Allouez was employed in that mission. He surmounted incredible hardships, in his voyage thither; and, according to the French writers, was very successful in making profelytes among the unconverted Indian nations of the Outagamis, the Illinois, and even the Sioux, though with the last he could converse only by his interpreters.—And in exploits like these, the fathers took more pains than in promoting the real interest of the colony to which they belonged.

In the mean time, the Iroquois cantons of Agnier and Onneyouth, at the departure of De Tracy, perceiving the French were now grown too powerful for them in Canada, made their submissions to Courcelles, the governor-general, who at their request, sent the fathers Bruyas and Fremin to labour

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bour among them in the vineyard of conversions. Father Garnier was sent after to assist them; but visiting the christians of Onnondago, he was detained there by Garakonthie, who built him a cabin and a chapel, and engaged him to remain there till he should return from Quebec, where he was going to solicit for missionaries to his own canton, and that of Goyoquin. Garakonthie, after some stay at Quebec, returned to Onnondago, with the fathers Carheil and Milet; and the bishop of Petrée was so active, that, excepting the canton of Tfonnonthouan, all the savage nations in America were provided with missionaries; but, notwithstanding all the pains the good fathers took, their success in conversions was but very moderate. The truth is, those savages now knew the sweets of trade;—gain was their only religion, and commerce their worship; and the labours of the missionaries were defeated partly by their own ill conduct and enthusiasm, and partly by the passion for strong liquors which the French, English, and Dutch settlers had too much indulged in the natives of North America.

The colony of Canada, in 1668, put on a promising aspect. People of honourable families, but small fortunes, in Old France, transported themselves to the New, where they had lands and lordships assigned them; and, with a very moderate share of industry, they were soon enabled to live like men of quality. Even soldiers were become plan-

ters and colonists, and every officer amongst them was a great landholder. But as these habits were of no long continuance, the French planters having found means to subsist with a little outward shew and splendour, their toil and application was laid aside, which always gave the English an important superiority in the solid possessions of life. The tranquillity, however, which the colony enjoyed was a proof of its prosperity; so that, towards the end of this year, even the Tsonnonthouans applied to M. Courcelles for a missionary to instruct them, and he sent them father Fremin. The Agniers, who had hitherto appeared the most determined enemies of the missionaries, and who had so often embrued their hands in their blood, became now reconciled to their doctrines; and vast numbers of converts were made about the Falls of St. Lewis; and the mountain. The Iroquois, remaining in perfect peace, the Algonquins, whom they had dislodged and driven away, returned to their former habitations, all of them converts to christianity; but it is probable that most of those conversions were the effect of interest and convenience only, and seldom sincere.

A misunderstanding now arose between Courcelles, the governor-general, and Talon, the intendant general of New France, who were both of them men of great abilities, so that they lived uneasily together, and Talon going over to France was succeeded by M. Bouteroue. This minister

brought along with him a letter from M. Colbert to Courcelles, which politely gave him to understand that he ought to live upon better terms than he did with the bishop of Petée and the Jesuits, and that M. Bouteroue was preferred to the intendancy of the province chiefly on account of the great regard he had for that order.

For some years past a negociation had been on foot between the courts of France and Rome about erecting Quebec into a bishopric. As there was at this time but a very indifferent understanding between the two courts, his holiness made great difficulties on account of the independancy, which a bishop of Quebec might affect in so distant a country. At last, all difficulties were got over, and his most christian majesty, to make suitable provision for the new bishopric, gave to it, and the chapter of the cathedral, the rents of the abbey of Maubec, which was afterwards increased with those of the abbey of Benevent. In the mean time the new bishop of Quebec was so poor that the bulls of this creation lay four years at Rome for want of money to defray the expence of passing them. About this time, Maisonneuve, who had so long and so worthily governed Montreal, resigned his post, and M. Bretonvilliers, as superior general of the seminary of St. Sulpice, named M. Perrot, to succeed him. The latter, who had married a niece of Talon, thought it beneath his character to act under a commission from a private subject, and, therefore,

therefore, had interest enough to obtain a commission from the king, which, however, expressly mentioned that it was granted upon the nomination of M. Brettonvilliers.

Courcelles was extremely alert in every thing relating to the interest of New France, especially with regard to the savages. Understanding that the Iroquois, who lay towards the Lake Ontario, had sent presents to the Outawas to engage them to bring their furs to them that they might dispose of them to the English of New York, he resolved to check them. For that purpose he embarked with a body of troops on the River St. Laurence, and notwithstanding the great number of falls he met with between Montreal and Lake Ontario, he shewed the savages that it would always be in the power of the French to invade them by boats; which had all the effect he could have wished for, by their breaking off their commerce with the Outawas, and the other northern savages. This voyage, however, did so much prejudice to his health, that he soon after desired to be recalled. The remaining term of his government was chiefly taken up in replacing the French settlements of Acadia and Newfoundland, which had been ceded to the crown of France, by the treaty of Breda. In the year 1670, M. Talon, who had retired from the intendency of New France, only that he might resume it with greater advantages, returned to Canada. That able minister, notwithstanding all his

attachment to the Jesuits, was convinced that their ministry was prejudicial to the temporal affairs of the colony; and, during his absence in France, he had obtained the re-establishment of the Recollects. Talon's view in this was to moderate the influence and power of the Jesuits over the natives, whom they absolutely governed, not only by the sway they had over their consciences, but by debarring them from, or indulging them in, the use of spirituous liquors. He obtained at the same time a recruit of five hundred families from his most christian majesty for peopling Canada; but after setting sail with part of them, the ship they were in was wrecked and many of them lost. He, however, soon raised fresh recruits both of Recollects and inhabitants, with whom he arrived at Quebec.

His zeal for peopling Canada, was not without its inconveniences; for his colonists imported into the country vices till then unknown to the inhabitants. Three French soldiers meeting with an Iroquois chief, who had with him a valuable cargo of furs, first made him drunk, and then murdered him; but notwithstanding all the precautions they took, they were discovered and thrown into prison. While their process was preparing, six Mahingan Indians, who were possessed of furs to the amount of a thousand crowns, after being made drunk, were murdered and robbed by three other French soldiers, who sold the furs as their

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own property, and had so little precaution, that they did not even bury the dead bodies, which were discovered by their countrymen. The latter, imagining the Iroquois were the perpetrators of the murders, flew to arms, and demanded satisfaction; but one of the French soldiers, quarrelling with his confederates, discovered the truth, and then both the Mahingans and Iroquois united in a war against the French. Four of the Mahingans burned the house of a French lady with herself in it; and the Iroquois were equally exasperated by the impeaching murderer's accusing his confederates of designing to poison all the savages they met with. Matters were just coming to extremities, when Courcelles arrived at Montreal, and, in the presence both of the Mahingans and Iroquois who were there, put to death the French soldiers who had murdered the Iroquois chief, promising that the assassins of the three Mahingans should meet with the same fate, as soon as they could be discovered. This example of speedy justice charmed the savages, and disarmed them of their wrath; and, Courcelles promising to make good all the damages that had been done, they laid aside all farther resentment. Having thus established his authority by his justice, he applied himself to compose the differences between the Iroquois and the Outawas, which had broken out into open hostilities; and so highly was he respected, that both sides sent deputies to Quebec, where, chiefly by the
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the prudence of Garakonthie, all interests were reconciled. That chief, who had a secret understanding with the French before the departure of the deputies to their own country, publicly professed his having been long a christian in his heart, and his detesting the errors in which he had been educated, and earnestly desired the bishop to baptize him, which he accordingly performed. The name he received at the font was Daniel; and the ceremony was attended with a noble entertainment given to the savage deputies.

While the province of Canada was in this situation, a most dreadful mortality broke out amongst the northern natives, which carried off whole tribes, particularly that of the Attikamegues, who never have been since heard of. About the same time, Tadoussac, which had hitherto been the chief mart of the Indian savages in the fur trade with the French, began to be deserted, as likewise did Trois Rivières, by means of the small-pox breaking out, which destroyed one thousand five hundred savages at once. The French, however, maintained their settlement at Trois Rivières, though they could not that at Tadoussac. The same loathsome distemper made likewise great havock at Sylteri, where all the converts died. It was at this time that the christian Huron settlement of Loretto, was instituted by Chaumont; while the English subjects of New York, in the neighbourhood of the
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canton of Agnier, began to tamper with the natives, and to endeavour to bring them over to protestantism, but with little effect. They then strove to intimidate the women, by telling them that the government of New York would not suffer them to appear with beads and other marks of popery in their province; but all was to no purpose; and the women, on the head of religion, proved still more intractable than the men. Notwithstanding this, many of the Agniers continued to insult the missionaries. A chief of one of their cantons turned father Perron out of the assembly of the natives, and imposed silence on him; upon which Perron threatened them with the resentment of the king, and to complain of the affront to the governor-general. This shew of resolution in the missionary, so greatly daunted the Iroquois chief, that he came and asked pardon of the father, who reproached him for his insolence and impiety, and would not even hear what the savage had to urge in behalf of himself; and he immediately undertook to bring all his canton into the pale of christianity. For this purpose, he went round to all its elders, and persuaded them to agree to a general assembly, which being accordingly held, was opened by a speech from the chief, which might have proceeded from the most zealous missionary. He was seconded by father Perron, and Garakonthie happening luckily to be there, he harangued in his turn, on the same

same subject with so much energy that the assembly unanimously came to the following resolutions: First, No longer to acknowledge Agreskoue, the supreme deity of those savages, as the author of life, and that he should be no longer worshiped; Secondly, That their jugglers should no longer be called to visit their sick; and, Thirdly, To abolish all indecent and superstitious dances.

Notwithstanding these promising appearances, father Bruyas, the missionary in the canton of Onneyouth, had very indifferent success, though he was seconded by the indefatigable zeal of Garakonthie. The missionaries attributed the aversion of the natives for them to the neighbourhood of New York, from which they were furnished with spirituous liquors. All the zeal of Garakonthie, and his assistant missionary, could not prevail with the savages to declare for them. They comforted themselves, however, by peopling heaven with a great number of children, whom they baptized in the last stages of their lives. But they had better success with the other cantons of the Upper Iroquois, who were farther removed from the English, and had been greatly mortified by the late wars; and they had still greater with the Upper Algonquins, in whose conversion not only the missionaries, but the government of New France took great concern. A large quantity of ground was cleared and sown with grain of all kind, near the Fall of St. Mary, which was in the heart

heart of their settlements, and was the centre of a considerable commerce.

Courcelles, ever since the French expeditions against the Agniers, had treated all the nations in the neighbourhood of New France, as his master's subjects, and had been at great pains in prescribing to them the terms of their pacifications with one another. This haughtiness had a considerable effect upon the Indians lying in the neighbourhood of the French, who found their account in the same; but it was by no means relished by the Tsonnonans, who fell upon the Pouteoutamis, notwithstanding Courcelles had but very lately concluded a peace between them. He immediately sent a threatening message to the assailants, and charged them to keep the peace, on pain of his displeasure. The Tsonnonthouans resented this haughtiness, and told the governor-general, that they neither were, nor would be, subjects to France. Courcelles had ordered them to give up the Pouteouatamis prisoners. This, at first, they refused to do; but, after some deliberation, the great chief of the Goyogouins, who has been already mentioned, and who was next in credit with all the Iroquois to Garakonthie, persuaded them to put into his hands eight prisoners, out of thirty-five, of the Pouteouatamis. He then delivered them up to Courcelles, who received them as the whole, being glad of getting off with some shew of credit in the affair. The Goyogouin chief, in presenting the captives,

acquainted Courcelles, that he had undertaken that commission only with a view of being baptized by the hands of the bishop.—This gave great pleasure to all the French.—M. Talon, who was by this time returned to Canada, was his godfather, and gave him the name of Lewis, and made a grand entertainment for all the christian savages at Quebec, Loretto, and Sylleri, in the name of the new convert. About this period, most of the christian Agniers (amongst whom were some eminent female converts) removed to the Huron settlement of Loretto, where they were encouraged by Courcelles to reside, in hopes, that they would in time prove a barrier against their savage countrymen, if they should renew their inroads. As their numbers increased, the French formed a settlement for the christian Iroquois, almost opposite to Montreal, in a place called Magdalen's Meadow, from whence it was removed soon after two leagues farther to the south; and it is now called the mission of the Fall of St. Lewis. In the mean time, Talon began to carry into execution a project he had formed when he was last in France, which was to send a proper messenger through the most distant parts of Canada, to engage all the different Indian nation, to send deputies to a certain place, to treat concerning putting themselves under the protection of France. Having communicated his project to Courcelles, the latter recommended one Nicholas Perrot, as a proper person for this negotiation,

negociation, who was in the service of the Jesuits, and, being a man of address, had been employed by them in different parts of Canada. — Talon approving of this choice, Perrot received his instructions, and visited all the northern tribes who were known to the French, and invited them to send their deputies, by a certain time, to the Falls of St. Mary, there to meet one of the great Onon-thio's commanders. From thence he went towards the west, and, edging to the south, he fell down to Chicagou, which is situated at the bottom of Lake Michigan, then the residence of the Miamis, being escorted all the way by a party of Pouteuatamis to prevent them from insults ; the savages being at war with each other. — Perrot found the chief of the Miamis, as well as his subjects, to be very different from the other savages. He could raise four or five hundred warriors, and was always attended by forty of them as his body-guard ;—he lived in a kind of state, and had his ministers, to whom he issued his orders, without communicating them to any other. Tetinchoua (for that was his name) being apprized of Perrot's approach, who travelled under the title of envoy-general of France, received him and his escort in a splendid manner, and ordered him a handsome apartment with a guard of fifty men ; and, when he set out for St. Mary's Fall, Tetinchoua would have attended him, but was dissuaded by his subjects,

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jects, on account of his great age and infirmities ; — and Perrot then would have visited a great many nations lying towards the Mississippi, particularly the Mascoutins, the Kicapous, and the Illinois, but had not time.

In May, 1671, the grand assembly was held at St. Mary's Fall, while savages resorted to the meeting, even from the southern part of Hudson's Bay : And, at the time appointed for the great congress at St. Mary's Fall, the Sieur Luffon, a delegate for the intendant of New France, acted under a special commission of all the country held by those people, and to receive them under the French king's protection. The assembly was opened by father Alouez, who pronounced a speech in the Algonquin tongue, magnifying the power of France, and explaining to the deputies the infinite advantages they would receive by their acknowledging his most christian majesty for their head. Luffon then asked, whether all of them agreed to what was proposed, which all having done, with loud acclamations of " Long live the king !" a cross, and the arms of France were immediately erected ; and the French king, by the Sieur Luffon, was pleased to take possession of all the countries from which the said deputies came, and to receive the inhabitants into his protection. Then the assembly was concluded with great civilities and caresses, that passed on both sides, and with a grand entertain-
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ment given by the delegate. Luffon, afterwards, by Talon's order, visited the southern part of Canada, where he found many well-built English settlements on the banks of Kennebek River; but he acquainted the owners, that, by the transactions of the late congress, the lands, on which they were built, had been ceded to his most christian majesty; and that they were now his subjects. It is to be observed, that Luffon pretended, in the memoirs he sent on this occasion to his superiors, that they willingly promised obedience and fidelity to the crown of France; notwithstanding which they still remained the subjects of England, even by the acknowledgement of the French court.

The Tionnontatez Hurons had now established themselves near Michillimakinac, upon a spot lying on the strait that divides Lake Michigan from Lake Huron; and in the centre of those two lakes and the upper lake.—This situation was chosen for them by father Marquette, though extremely inconvenient on account of the cold occasioned by the neighbourhood of those immense waters:—All this while, the savages seem to have purchased some little repose by their pretended subjection to his most christian majesty; yet it appears, even from the French accounts, that some of the cantons had refused or neglected to send deputies to the congress at St. Mary's Fall; and the Iroquois, in the mean time, continued a cruel war with the Andastes and the Chaouanons, two nations which they almost exter-

exterminated ; and the few who remained, were incorporated into the cantons of the victors, especially those of the Tsonnonthouans, to re-people their country.

Courcelles now became sensible that the submission of the Indians was a most precarious dependence, and that the Iroquois paid very little regard to his authority : he therefore resolved, as he could not subdue them, to endeavour to outwit them. For this purpose, he sent messages through their tribes, informing them that he had something of great consequence to propose, and desiring them to meet him at Cataracuoy, as soon as possible. The savages, curious to know what this important business was, resorted thither in great numbers, and were met by the governor. After the usual introduction of some presents, and a vast number of caresses, he informed them that he had their welfare so much at heart that he intended to erect, near that spot, a commodious building, to serve as a place of trade and resort in their dealings with the French. The Indians, little suspecting Courcelles intended to erect a strong fort for bridling them, highly approved of his intention, and urged him to set about it immediately ; but this was incompatible with his private views of returning to France : — he had already solicited his recal at that court ; and, upon his return from Cataracuoy to Quebec, he there found count Frontenac, who had been appointed to succeed him.

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After conferring together about the design of the fort, the new governor entirely approved of the same, and, early in the spring, set out for Cataracuoy, where he built it, and gave it his own name; by which it was afterwards so highly distinguished; but as it was thus fraudulently erected upon the lands belonging to the allies, or the subjects, of England, the northern Iroquois, the legality of the French title to it was even then very doubtful. This important fortress stands upon the Bay of Cataracuoy, at the place where the River St. Laurence discharges itself into Lake Ontario, and thereby commands the passages between Montreal and that lake; so that, while in the hands of the French, it served to connect that dangerous chain of forts, which they had raised, for three thousand miles, along the frontiers of the British colonies. The new general, was a man of great capacity and courage; had studied and understood the true interests of New France; he was most indefatigable in promoting them; and he had a remarkable talent of making himself respected by the French Canadians, and their Indian subjects, or, as they are called, their allies: Yet, at the same time, the general faults of almost all American governors entered into his composition: for he was positive, haughty, overbearing, susceptible of prepossessions which he could never shake off, and stuck at no means, had they been never so violent, to remove all who opposed, or disputed

disputed his pleasure. But these faults were counterbalanced, in the eye of his court, by his zeal for the honour of the crown, and the prosperity of Canada.

Talon presently understood the true character of Frontenac, and soon after the latter's arrival, he applied to the French court for his recal. It was owing to this great minister, that the famous river of Mississippi was discovered. It was known, in general, from the accounts of the savages, that there was such a river towards the southern parts of New France; but the people were ignorant where it discharged itself, whether in the gulph of Mexico, or in the South Sea. Talon thought that the prosecution of this discovery was a matter of so great importance, that he employed father Marquette, and an inhabitant of Quebec, and one Joliet, a spirited able adventurer, and well acquainted with those countries, in the attempt *.

* Before these set out they drew a map of the countries, through which they supposed they were to pass, from the information of the savages, and laid in their provisions, which consisted of boiled flesh and Indian corn. They then went for the Bay of Puantes, or Lake Michigan, but found all the people, through whose country they passed, ignorant and superstitious. Embarking on the River des Renards, they sailed up it, notwithstanding its rapids, and, after travelling some days by land, they re-embarked upon the River Ouisconsin, or Misconsin. On the seventeenth of June, 1673, they entered the great River Mississippi, which answered all the high ideas they had conceived of it from the relations of the savages. Having sailed down it a great way, they met with the

In the mean while, every thing was in confusion in the government of Canada. Frontenac was violent and arbitrary, and had imprisoned the abbot of Salignac Fenelon, who belonged to the

Illinois, who lived in three townships, three leagues below the place where the River Missouri discharges itself into the Mississippi. Those Indians entertained the travellers with great marks of savage politeness, and afterwards, to the number of about eight hundred, conducted them to their canoes. During their stay with the Illinois, they understood that the latter were apprehensive of being invaded by the Iroquois, and they implored the good offices of the governor-general of Canada in their favour. Marquette and Joliet, then re-imbarking, fell down the river till they came to the mouth of the river Ouaboukigou, where they found a numerous nation, who inhabited thirty-eight villages, called the Chuoanous, who were greatly harrassed by the Iroquois. Soon after they met with a nation of savages who had fire-arms, who informed them that they purchased them, and their working utensils from Europeans, who lived to the eastward, and that they were only ten days journey from the sea.—Before they reached the great village of Akamsca, they met with another race of savages not so polished, some of whom were for murdering the father and his companions, from which they were diverted by the authority of their chief. Marquette and Joliet here held a consultation with their companions, who were five Frenchmen, concerning their future proceedings; and observing, by their reckoning, that they were within three days journey of the Gulph of Mexico, where they could expect nothing but death from the Spaniards; and, considering their provisions were now almost spent, they turned back towards Canada. Arriving at Chicagou on the Lake Michigan, Marquette remained with the Miamis, and Joliet went to Quebec, where he found Talon preparing to return to France. Marquette was received with great civility by the grand chief of the Miamis. About the same time, the fathers Allouez and Dablon went

feminary of St. Sulpice, as well as M. Perrot, late governor of Montreal. In short, he not only quarrelled with all the clergy and missionaries, but with M. Du Chesneau, who had succeeded Talon, intendant of New France. He likewise so managed the upper council, that it consisted entirely of his own friends and creatures, and he issued more warrants in one year, than had been for sixty before, so that the whole colony was in the utmost confusion. The Iroquois not being satisfied with the settlement they had made at Magdalen's Meadow;

up the River Des Renards, and preached, but without much success, to the Indians, that inhabited to the south of Lake Michigan. In their travels, they met with the fragment of a rock, which, at a certain distance, bore some resemblance to a human head, and was worshiped by the savages as an idol. The two fathers had the courage not only to preach against the idolatry, but to tumble the idol from its station; so that neither it, nor its worship were ever heard of again.

Towards the south, the missionaries entered the country of the Mascoutins, where the land is more free from wood than any in North America. The Kicapous were the neighbours, and constant allies of the Mascoutins. Here the two missionaries found the Miamis chief, at the head of three thousand of his own subjects, Mascoutins and Kicapous, whom the fear of the Iroquois and the Sioux had brought to the field. The missionaries were well received by these people; but all the fruit they gained from their exhortations, was, that the savages hearing them talk so well, took them for divinities, and inviting them to a great war-feast, petitioned them to grant them the victory over their enemies.—Soon after, Dablon, to his great regret, was recalled to Quebec, and father Allouez went to reside with the Outagamis, who, at that time, consisted of about a thousand families.

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the missionaries, on their behalf, applied to the governor for leave to remove to the Fall of St. Lewis, and he taking no notice of the request, Du Chesneau, as intendant-general, granted them the spot they petitioned for; and notwithstanding the resentment of Frontenac, which he discovered in a most violent manner, they kept possession of it.

About this time the missionaries were driven by the Dutch out of the canton of Agniers, and Canada was threatened by the Iroquois savages with a fresh invasion; while the breach now grew every day wider between the governor-general on one part, and the bishop and intendant on the other.—The king had, in June, 1675, emitted an ordonnance, by which the governor-general was to have the first seat in the council, the bishop the second, and the intendant the third, but that the latter should collect the voices and pronounce the sentences. Frontenac paid no regard to this ordonnance, and even threatened to throw the intendant into prison. His interest, however, at the French court prevented his most christian majesty from knowing the whole of his behaviour, and both he and the intendant received reprimands, though that of Frontenac was the most severe, because he had expressly disobeyed the king's ordonnance*.

* The letters, which brought over those reprimands, established several other regulations, particularly, against a set of men called *courcours des bois*, or rangers, who carried on an illicit trade, both with the English and the natives, whom they

All this while, by the absence of Talon, and the death of father Marquette, the discovery of the great River Mississippi had remained unprosecuted; but it was now resumed by the *Sieur La Sale*, one of the most extraordinary adventurers of that age. He was at Montreal at the time when Joliet returned from his discoveries of the Mississippi; and, after discoursing with him, resolved to prosecute the discovery, and to sail northward up the same river. He applied himself to Frontenac, who agreed that he should return to France, where he was to lay before the court his plans, not only for sailing up the Mississippi, but for building, peopling, and garrisoning the fort at Cataracouy, and rendering its neighbourhood a populous and thriving plantation; so as to produce all the necessaries of life, and docks, and materials for building vessels proper for the navigation of Lake

furnished with strong liquors. Frontenac, on the other hand, and his friends, with some justice perhaps, pretended, that the strong liquor trade was absolutely necessary for preserving the interest of the French amongst the savages; that the bishop and the Jesuits greatly exaggerated the evils attending it; and that their real design was, by getting the trade into their own hands, to engross the management of the colony, and the affections of the natives.—At length the matter was referred, by the king, to the archbishop of Paris, and the famous father La Chaise, the king's confessor, and himself a Jesuit, who pronounced sentence entirely in favour of the bishop and his missionaries; and the most express orders were given against the traffic, under the most heavy penalties.

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Ontario. Being furnished with proper credentials from Frontenac, he immediately repaired to France, where he obtained all that he wanted. — Letters of nobility were expedited in his favour; and the lordship of Cataracuoy was granted him, together with the government of the fort, provided he would build it of stone, and he likewise received full powers for the extension of commerce and prosecuting his intended discoveries.

On the fourteenth of July, 1678, La Sale and Tonti, with thirty other persons, some of whom were pilots, and others workmen, embarked at Rochelle for Quebec, where they arrived on the fifteenth of September following. After a very short stay there, they repaired to Cataracuoy, carrying with them father Hennepin, whom we have already mentioned, and who was a Flemish Recollect. After that he travelled on foot throughout all the canton of Cataracuoy, all the while carrying on a trade by means of his bark, which was, soon after, wrecked through the negligence of the pilot.

La Sale applied himself with great spirit and diligence, as did Tonti, an experienced officer, whom he had taken with him likewise, in repairing this loss; and, in the mean time, both of them visited the different savages in the neighbourhood, with whom they settled a commerce; and about the middle of August, 1679, the vessel being got ready, La Sale embarked on board of it, with forty persons,
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of whom three were fathers Recollects, for Michilimakinac. In his voyage he met with so severe a storm, that most part of his attendants left him; but happening to fall in with the chevalier Tonti, who had taken another route, he persuaded them to return. His vessel then sailed to the Bay of Puantes, from whence it returned to Niagara, loaded with furs, while he himself went in a canoe to the River St. Joseph, where Tonti joined him. After remaining there a short while, Tonti went to the country of the Illinois, while La Sale returned to Cataracuoy, where he received undoubted intelligence, that his new vessel, which was called the Gryphon, was lost or destroyed *.

The Algonquin nations, the Outaowas particularly, were now shaken in their allegiance to the French; and even the French themselves, at Cataracuoy, where La Sale then was, entered into

* La Sale did not consult the true rules of policy in launching so large a vessel upon the Lakes of Canada. The barbarians considered it as big with their destruction, and his attempts as tending to engross the whole fur-trade, and to bring them into a state of entire dependance upon the French. It is thought, not without great probability, that this induced a party of the Iroquois to surprize the bark when it lay at anchor, and no more than five men on board, and, after plundering it of all its cargo, to set it on fire. The savages, in general, were, at this time, extremely averse to the French interest; and the Iroquois defeated the Illinois, whom La Sale chiefly depended on, while Tonti was amongst them.

practices against his life, and gave his savage allies very bad impressions of his designs.

It required all La Sale's firmness and vivacity to withstand so many shocks. He immediately repaired to the country of the Illinois, who, he perceived, received him with a coldness very different from the sentiments in which he had left them ; and here his French attendants, seeing matters in this situation, conspired to poison him ; but, being discovered, they fled. All he could then do, was, to replace the fugitives by an equal number of young Illinois, who were charmed with his intrepidity under his sufferings. He then dispatched father Hennepin with one Dacan, to sail up the Mississippi, if possible, to its source. The missionary and his companion embarked at fort Crevecoeur the twenty-eighth of February, and advanced up the Mississippi as far as the forty-sixth degree of north latitude. Here they were stopped by a fall extending the whole breadth of the river, which prevented their going farther, and which Hennepin called the Fall of St. Anthony of Padua. They found means to be delivered by some French Canadians from the hands of the Sioux, who had made them prisoners ; and afterwards went down the river as far as the sea, from whence they returned to fort Crevecoeur. The French, however, treat all the remaining part of this voyage, which is related by that Recollect, as a mere fiction, and tell

tell us, that he returned to Crevecoeur by the same course he held when he went up to St. Anthony's Fall, which had been built by La Sale, in a very uncomfortable country, and under a very miserable situation.

The court of France perhaps gave too much into the romantic projects of La Sale, who had made himself a great number of enemies in New France, by obtaining exclusive privileges of trade; but the English are chiefly blamed by Frontenac for this irruption of the Iroquois. The flourishing state of the colonies of New England and New York enabled them to be very troublesome neighbours to the French, after they had obtained the restitution of Acadia by the treaty of Breda; and the French had neglected that country so much, that it again fell into the hands of the English, whose distance from London encouraged them to pay no great regard to the negotiations of that court. As the acquisition of Acadia and the intermediate country was of the utmost consequence to both nations, the English settlers, more than probably, had encouraged the Iroquois in invading the Illinois. Tonti, who was then at fort Crevecoeur, with no more than five men, and two Recollect fathers, saw it was in vain to resist the Iroquois, who were determined to drive the French from all their posts on the River Illinois; so abandoning the fort, he made the best retreat he could, but not without losing one of the Recollects, who was murdered

murdered by the savages. La Sale had heard nothing of this retreat, and was surprised when, in the spring of the following year, on his return to fort Crœvecœur, he found it abandoned. He soon re-inforced it with a new garrison, and sent workmen to complete the fortrefs he had marked out the year before, and which he named Fort St. Lewis. He then marched to Michillimakinac, where he joined Tonti; and about the end of August, after rambling backwards and forwards for three months, he, once more, set out for Cataracuoy, to procure fresh supplies of adventures and provisions; and in his way thither, he visited his two forts in the country of the Illinois. Every thing was now prepared for La Sale's grand expedition to the Mississippi, which he entered on the second of February, 1682, by the River Illinois. On the fourth of March, he formally took possession of the country of the Arkansas, and on the ninth of April, he came to the mouth of the river, where he took possession anew*.

* On the eleventh of April, La Sale re-imbarked on his return; but falling ill on the fifteenth of May, he dispatched the chevalier De Tonti before him, to Michillimakinac. Notwithstanding what is here related, the honour of discovering the Mississippi is vigorously contested with La Sale by Hennepin; who says, that his being the first discoverer, excited La Sale's hatred towards him so much, that he was very ill treated by the French court, and obliged to throw himself on the protection of England.

- In the mean time, the government of New France had undergone some revolutions; for the misunderstanding between Frontenac and the intendant grew to such a height that the French court recalled them both. Le Fevre de la Barre succeeded, as governor-general of New France, and De Meules as intendant. By their instructions, which are dated in May, 1682, they were ordered to correspond in the most cordial manner with Blenac, the governor of the French American islands, as the opening a commerce between them and New France, would be productive of the greatest advantages to both. They were likewise instructed to live in the greatest harmony with one another, but the intendant was always to submit to the governor. It appears that, for some years, New France had been in a declining state; for, in 1697, all the French in the colony, exclusive of those in Acadia, whose numbers were very inconsiderable, amounted to no more than eight thousand five hundred and fifteen persons.—The Iroquois, notwithstanding their barbarity, were now almost as good soldiers as the French Canadians themselves, and well knew the weakness of the colony: they therefore incessantly applied themselves to bring off the other Indians from their connexions with the French. In this they were greatly assisted by colonel Dungan, the English governor of New York, who gave to the Iroquois much greater prices for their furs and commodities than the French Canadians could afford,

afford, on account of the exactions of the new French company.

On the eleventh of September, Frontenac gave an audience to the deputies of the Iroquois who were headed by an Onnondagan captain named Teganefforens, at Fort Catarocouy; but understanding that the Illinois were to be excepted out of the number of the French allies, he loaded Teganefforens with presents, to induce him to prevent the war between the Iroquois and the Illinois, which he promised to do. — It appeared, afterwards however, that this chief was not in the secret of his countrymen's real designs.

While matters were in this situation, the new governor and intendant of Canada arrived; and it was discovered that all the negotiation of Teganefforens was intended only as a blind to the French, till the Iroquois could make dispositions for a vigorous war, which was actually begun. — La Barre arrived in New France with great prepossessions against the friends of Frontenac, and La Sale in particular, whom he accused as being the author of the war that was ready to break out between the Iroquois and the French, before the latter were prepared. He likewise complained of father Zenobe, who had accompanied La Sale in his discoveries, which he treated as impostures, or matters of very little consequence. He alledged, that all had been transacted by a dozen or two of vagabond French and savages, who had prostituted his

most christian majesty's authority, and endeavoured to engross to themselves the commerce of New France.—The French took the part of La Sale. He had, by his letters, prepossessed that ministry, particularly M. De Seignelay, greatly in favour of his discoveries, which he had magnified above those of Peru and Mexico; and, when he came to be heard at court, he met with a very small reprimand, but great encouragement.—La Barre was all this while struggling under infinite difficulties. He saw the poverty of the colony, and the impending war of the Iroquois, without knowing how to remedy the one, or to prevent the other. He followed the wisest course. Being a stranger, he summoned a general assembly of all the principal inhabitants, ecclesiastical, civil, and military, and demanded their advice.

The assembly of New France laid before their governor a full state of the province. They represented, That the colony could not arm above a thousand men; that, even to do that, they must neglect their agriculture; that they were destitute of provisions; in short, that it was impossible to enter, with any prospect of success, upon the war, without assistance from France; and that two or three hundred men, at least, sent from thence would be necessary for their frontier garrisons, particularly that of Cataracouy;—that the cultivation of their lands, during the absence of the inhabitants in the war, would require a thousand or fifteen hundred additional

tional hands; and that they must be furnished with funds to raise magazines, and to build vessels. All those heads, with reasons, shewing that, if they were not complied with, the colony must be utterly ruined, were transmitted to France in a memorial from La Barre, and were highly approved of by the French king. Orders were given for the immediate embarkation of two hundred regulars for Canada, and letters were sent to the governor, informing him that Dungan, whose character we have already given, had received express orders from the court of England to alter his conduct with regard to the government of New France.

In 1683, La Barre had undoubted intelligence, that fifteen hundred Iroquois were assembled at the chief village of the Onnondagans, and that they intended to march from thence against the Miamis, the Outawas, and the other allies of the French.—La Barre had recourse in this danger to the arts of negotiation.—He dispatched a messenger, who arrived at the place of rendezvous, to dissuade the savages from entering upon their expedition, and to prevail with them to send deputies to Montreal to treat of an accommodation. They seemed to agree to both propositions; but before the end of June, La Barre had advice that seven or eight hundred of the cantons of Onnondago, Goyoguin, and Onneyouth, had marched to attack the savage allies of France, while the
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Monnonthouans, and another body of the Goyoguis, were to fall upon the colony itself. La Barre, upon this, dispatched another express to the French ministry, with heavy complaints of the practices of the English, in exciting this cruel war; and requesting that the duke of York should be applied to, to send orders to his governor of New York not to support the Iroquois against the French.

La Barre, while he waited for the result of those dispatches, sent a fresh message to the Iroquois, in hopes of amusing them, desiring to know how soon they would fulfil their promise in sending deputies to Montreal to treat of a peace: but they answered the messenger, with great contempt, that they did not remember their having made any such promise; and that if the governor had any thing to propose, he must repair to them. It appeared, however, that these savages, though resolved upon a war with the French Indians, were not so forward as they pretended in coming to a rupture with the colony; for in August, the five cantons actually sent their deputies. The French missionaries and traders, who were best acquainted with the character of those nations, endeavoured to put La Barre upon his guard against their practices, which they said were only to gain time, that they might be the more sure of their blow. — He received the deputies with great civility, and accepted of all their protestations; at the same time, he
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took possession of Fort Cataracouy, which in fact was the private property of La Sale, and likewise of Fort Lewis, in the country of the Illinois; all which proceedings created great dissatisfaction in the colony. In the mean time, a body of the Iroquois were making dispositions for possessing themselves of both those forts. While a party of them was on their march, meeting fourteen French traders, they robbed them of goods to the value of fifteen thousand francs; and afterwards excused themselves, by pretending that they thought the traders belonged to La Sale, whom they were at liberty, by permission of the governor, to plunder; a ridiculous excuse for a violence which, perhaps, the French were not at that time in a condition to revenge.—De Baugy, an officer under La Barre, was then commandant at Fort Lewis, where Tonti likewise served; and having intelligence of the approach of the barbarians, they were so well prepared to receive their visit that they killed a considerable number of them at the first onset, after which they raised the siege. Upon this attempt of the Indians, and another against Fort Cataracouy, which likewise failed, La Barre resolved upon an offensive war; and La Durantaye, a captain of the regiment of Carignan, who commanded at Michillimakinac, and Du Luth, who acted as his lieutenant, received orders to excite all the French Indians in those parts to arms, and to invite

invite them to meet him at Niagara, where he was to be, with all the force of New France, on the fifteenth of August; and from thence to proceed to make a vigorous war upon all the Iroquois nations, particularly the Tsonnonthouans. The Indians about the Bay of St. Lewis were very backward in complying, on account of some discouragements they met with in their trade, by orders from the governor, who wanted to engross it to himself; and when at last, four hundred French and two hundred Canadians were assembled, the chief difficulty still remained, which was how to march them to Niagara. While the French were deliberating on surmounting this obstacle, and when the savages had actually begun their march, the latter were filled with unaccountable prepossessions, suggested by their superstitious notions, that their expedition would be unsuccessful; and after Durance and his officers had, with infinite difficulty, brought them to Niagara, their worst suspicions were confirmed by their not finding the governor there, and their afterwards understanding that a peace had been made between him and the Iroquois. The three French officers expected to be sacrificed to their resentment; but the savages contented themselves with coolly reproaching them and the governor for having deceived them, and promising that they never should be again at Ononthonio's call. The officers, however, found means to appease them, by pretending that their interest had

had been consulted in the peace, which the dread of them had prevailed upon the Iroquois to sue for; and thus the Indians departed in friendship.

In the mean time, La Barre had ordered the rendezvous of his troops to be held at Montreal. Before he put them in motion, he sent a message to colonel Dungan, requiring him, according to the promise he had made in consequence of the duke of York's orders, not to oppose his expedition against a bloody perfidious nation, who would massacre the English if they had nothing to fear from the French, and inviting him to join him in revenging the death of twenty-six English subjects, who had, the preceding winter, been murdered by the Tsonnonthouans. After this, he applied to the cantons of Onondago, Agnier, and Onneyouth, to all whom he sent belts of wampum, informing them that his expedition was only designed against the Tsonnonthouans. He then detached Du Tast, one of his captains, at the head of fifty-six men, with a great convoy of provisions, to Cataracouy, and to re-inforce the garrison of that fort, where M. d'Orvilliers, a very able officer, was commandant. He had, by La Sale's orders, in the spring, reconnoitered the enemy's country upon Lake Ontario, and marked out the spot most proper for making the descent. The army then began its march. It consisted of seven hundred Canadians, one hundred and thirty regulars, and two hundred savages. The whole body embarked on the twenty-

ry-sixth and twenty-seventh of July; and, on the first of August, La Barre had undoubted intelligence, that the cantons of Onnondago, Onneyouth, and Goyogouin, had obliged the Tsonnonthouans to accept of their mediation between the French and them, and that they required Le Moyne to manage the negotiation. At the same time, the general received other intelligence, that in the war he was about to wage with the Tsonnonthouans, he could do them very little damage, as they had already retired with all their effects and provisions into their fastnesses, and that the prosecution of it, would serve only to unite all the different tribes of the nation against the French. It was added, that the heads of the Tsonnonthouans had given assurances, that all they required was an indemnity for what had passed, in which case they would perform even more than was required of them, and abstain from all hostilities against the allies of France; but that, if those offers were rejected, colonel Dungan, the governor of New York, had offered to support them with four hundred horse; but this governor's violence defeated his own purposes*.

* One Arnold was his envoy, who spoke to the Onnondagans in very haughty terms, and seeing them startled on delivering his commission, very foolishly asked them, whether they refused to obey their lawful prince, the duke of York? This discourse shocked the Onnondagans, who called Heaven to witness, that Arnold came only to trouble their land. One of their chiefs then

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La Barre's army, which was now on its march, had been reduced to the most deplorable condition; and, through the mismanagement of their general, the troops were so destitute of provisions, and so sickly at the same time, that they were preparing to return, when the welcome news arrived that a

addressed the envoy in the following remarkable strain of savage eloquence:

"Know," said he, "that the Onnondago places himself
 "between his father Ononthio, and his brother Tsonnonthouan,
 "to keep them from fighting with each other. I thought that
 "Corlar (for so the savages called the governor of New York)
 "would have stood behind me," and cried, "Well done, On-
 "nondagan, let not the father and the son come to blows together!
 "I am greatly surprised that his envoy should speak a very dif-
 "ferent language, and oppose my disarming both of them. Ar-
 "nold, I cannot think Corlar's disposition to be so bad as thou
 "representest it. Ononthio did me great honour in being will-
 "ing to treat of peace in my cabin.—Should the son dishonour
 "the father?—Corlar attend to my voice: Ononthio has adop-
 "ted me for a son; he treated and apparelled me, as such, at
 "Montreal. There have we planted the tree of peace. We
 "have likewise planted it at Onnondago, whither my father
 "commonly sends his ambassadors, because the Tsonnonthouans
 "are dull of apprehension. His predecessors did the same, and
 "both parties found their account in it. I have two arms: I
 "extend the one towards Montreal, there to support the tree of
 "peace, and the other towards Corlar, who has been long my
 "brother. Ononthio has been for these ten years my father,
 "Corlar has been long my brother, with my own good will;
 "but neither the one nor the other is my master: He who made
 "the world gave me the land I possess. I am free;—I respect
 "them both; but no man has a right to command me; and none
 "ought to take amiss my endeavouring, all that I can, that this

treaty was concluded. La Barre's joy at this was so great, that the savages easily perceived to what difficulties he had been reduced. They found him encamped upon a neck of land near Lake Ontario, but in such distress for provisions, that the spot has since been called Famine. Garakonthie and Oureouati, the two chiefs so friendly to the French, were two of the deputies; but the Tsonnonthouan deputy behaved with as great insolence as La Barre did with meanness; for, upon the Indian's declaring that his nation would never hear of any peace with the Illinois, La Barre said, that he hoped the hatchet lifted up against the Illinois would not fall upon the French in their country. When the Tsonnonthouan had agreed to this, the peace was made. The Onnondagan deputies engaged that the Tsonnonthouans should make good the losses of the Frenchmen who had been robbed; but La Barre, was obliged to decamp the very next day.

Perrot, who was now governor of Montreal, having some differences with the fraternity of St. Sulpice, who were his superiors, as being proprie-

"land shall not be troubled. To conclude; I can no longer delay
 "repairing to my father, who has taken the pains to come to
 "my very gate, and who has no terms to propose but what
 "are reasonable."

This interview was followed by a letter sent from the savages to the governor of New York, representing Arnold's behaviour, and that they did not believe he had faithfully executed his commission.

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tors of the island, the French king gave him the government of Acadia ; and he was succeeded in that of Montreal by the chevalier De Callieres, the boundary of whose government was marked at Lake St. Peter, in the River St. Laurence. All this while, the Iroquois, probably over-awed by the re-inforcement lately come from France, remained quiet, though it was apprehended they would not long continue so. They never had agreed to comprehend the French allies, especially the Illinois, in the peace; and it was of the utmost importance for the French to protect those people. Towards the end of July, 1685, La Barre received letters from Lamberville, missionary at Onnondago, informing him that the Tsonnonthouans had, during all the preceding winter, abstained from hunting, fearing lest the French should invade their canton in their absence; that they complained of the Mascontins and the Miamis, who, encouraged by the protection of Ononchio, had taken and killed, and even burned, some of their nation; and that the Mascontins alledged in their justification the instructions they had received from the governor of New France.

The Onnondagans were, at this time, so well disposed towards the French, as to do all they could to prevent a rupture; but could receive no other answer from the Iroquois, than that they were at liberty to do as they pleased. The news of the late peace being carried to France, it was easily foreseen

foreseen there, that it could be of no long continuance; and his most christian majesty named Denonville to be governor of New France. He arrived with a fresh re-inforcement of troops at Quebec, soon after La Barre had received Lamberville's letter, and his first step was to visit Cataracouy. La Forest had, by order from the court, been replaced in the command of that fort; but understanding that his principal, M. La Sale, was amongst the Illinois, he repaired thither, and d'Orvilliers commanded in his absence. During Denonville's residence at Cataracouy, he easily saw the necessity of checking the Iroquois; but he found that the affairs of the colony in general were in a bad situation, and that the government of Old France had formed very false ideas with regard to their colonies.

It now appeared, that there could be no safety for the French, but by cutting off from the English all communication by the lakes, and particularly to secure that of Ontario, on the west as well as the east, by building a strong fort of stone, capable to contain five or six hundred men at Niagara. This the French government thought was a certain and infallible method to prevent the Iroquois from trading with the English, who, they computed, gained above thirty thousand pounds a year by furs. All this was represented to the French court by Denonville, who pressed the building such a fort with the greatest assiduity.

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This project was not so secretly carried on as not to come to the knowledge of colonel Dungan, who remonstrated strongly against the building any fort at Niagara, which, he said, was the duke of York's property, and likewise against the vast magazines of provisions and arms that were amassing at Cataracouy. Denonville answered Dungan's remonstrances, by recriminating upon the Iroquois; and endeavoured to shew, that there was no real ground for their suspicions, and that Niagara and its neighbourhood had been taken possession of by the French, long before the English were settled in New York.

Dungan at this time addressed himself to the savages of Michillimakinac, by means of certain traders, who convinced them of the superior advantages they might have by dealing with the English, instead of the French; and in this he had all the success he could desire. Durantaye was then absent from Michillimakinac; but returning thither just as the English traders had left it, he set out in pursuit of them. The English, however, had foreseen this, and had prevailed with the Hurons settled at St. Mary's Fall to give them a large escort, who conveyed them to the country of the Tsonnonthouans. Denonville now found it necessary to throw a strong garrison into fort Cataracouy, and to send a considerable detachment by Sorel River, to over-awe the Agniers, and to alarm Dungan; he likewise sent back the mission-ary,

ary, who had succeeded in persuading the savages that the French were ready to fall upon them. But Denonville sending Lamberville's presents to the Indians, the warriors, who had taken the field, were recalled; negotiations were entered into for an exchange of prisoners, and the Hurons, with the Outawas of Michillimakinac, were prevailed on to give the French governor-general a meeting at Cataracouy. Towards the end of September, Lamberville returned to Quebec to inform Denonville of his proceedings with the Iroquois, and more particularly with the cantons of the Onnondagans, who had returned their prisoners; but the Tsonnonthouans had refused to follow their example, pretending that their captives chose to continue where they were.

In the mean time, colonel Dungan, who acted as governor-general of New England as well as New York, dispossessed the French of their settlement at St. Therese, upon Hudson's Bay. The court of Versailles ordered Barrillon, their ambassador at London, to make a strong remonstrance upon their dispossession; but it appeared that neither Charles the Second, nor James the Second, had authority enough over their American subjects to oblige them to make restitution, which themselves were sincerely disposed to do. The French were amazed to the last degree that subjects should dispute the will of their sovereign; but the northern company, who were the proprietors of Fort Therese, perceiv-
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ing they could not succeed by applying to the court, resolved to do themselves justice, and demanded assistance from Denonville to repossess themselves of the fort. He accordingly sent eighty soldiers with the chevalier De Troye at their head, and on the twentieth of June, 1686, they arrived at the bottom of Hudson's Bay. They first stormed the Fort Monsipi upon the River Monsoni, and made the garrison, consisting of sixty men, prisoners of war, seizing, at the same time, a considerable quantity of ammunition and provisions. Iberville, one of the French officers, then took a small vessel, in which was the governor of the bay; and, at last, Fort Rupert upon the River Nemiscau, which had been lately rebuilt, but remained still unfortified, fell into his hands. The troops then proceeded against Quitchitchouen, which they likewise made themselves masters of.

The French court in the beginning of the year 1687, aimed a blow that bade fair to destroy all the British interest in North America. Barrillon had prevailed with king James to agree to a neutrality between the subjects of France and England in North America, which left the French in possession of all their usurped claims. But the unsettled state of affairs in England, defeated all the intentions of this treaty; and the English paid so little regard to it that they attacked Fort Quitchitchouen in Hud-

son's Bay; but they were repulsed with some loss by Iberville. In September Denonville declared war against the Iroquois, and, in effect, against the English. This was the year 1686, but the warlike operations did not commence till June, 1687, when Denonville having received all the re-inforcements he expected from France, took the field with two thousand French and six hundred savages. Under pretext of the orders his predecessor had received to send all the Iroquois he could make prisoners to the French galleys, before he had declared war, he decoyed their chiefs to a conference at Cataracouy, where he most perfidiously put them in irons, and sent them to Quebec, to be transported from thence to Europe. This did no service to the French interest. It sunk the credit of Lamberville and Milet, the two missionaries, in the eyes of the savages. Many of the natives who had repaired to Cataracouy, were the best friends the French had upon that continent, but these were now rendered their irreconcilable enemies; as indeed was the whole nation of the Iroquois. Denonville perceived the injustice of the step he had taken, and disavowed it, which only served to render him more odious and despicable to the natives, and to unite them more closely with the English.

Milet fell into the hands of the Onneyouths, who immediately condemned him to the flames, and obliged him to suffer all the torments which usually

usually preceded that punishment; but, when he was on the point of being executed, an Indian matron adopted him, and saved his life, by carrying him into her cabin. As to Lamberville, who remained in the canton of Onnondago, no sooner had Denonville's treachery appeared, than the chiefs sent for him to their assembly, and expostulated with him in the warmest terms upon what had happened. He had, however, the good fortune to be greatly in favour with the savages, who acquitted him entirely of having any share in the perfidious proceedings of Denonville, but acquainted him that it was utterly improper he should remain any longer amongst them.—The indulgence shewn on this occasion to Lamberville was, in a great measure, owing to Garakonthie, who still preserved his credit in his nation. Notwithstanding the sentence of this missionary, the savages assigned him a guard, who escorted him out of all danger; and the father himself always afterwards acknowledged Garakonthie to be his deliverer. Denonville was more a barbarian than the savages he was about to fight with; and knowing that matters were now brought to extremities between him and the Indians, he omitted nothing that could make the campaign prosperous on his side. De Tonti, who had travelled as far as the mouth of the Mississippi to obtain some tidings of La Sale, and who had returned to Montreal, was ordered to repair to the country of the Illinois, there to publish the war;

and, after assembling them in a body, as soon as possible, to conduct them towards the Tsonnonthouans, lying on the Ohio River; from whence he was to detach parties, to cut off the retreat of their women and children. Those in the neighbourhood of the Bay of St. Lewis were irreconcilably exasperated against the Iroquois, who had the summer before carried off some of their women. Denonville improved this circumstance to his own advantage, by desiring them to join Du Luth, who was intrenched at the straits of Lake Huron; a spot that was pitched on by him as most proper for the general rendezvous of his troops. Perrot and another officer, Boisguillot, were ordered to repair to Michillimakinac with all the French they could assemble, consistently with the safety of their effects, and to signify to the Sioux, that they should have cause to repent, if they offered to disturb the French allies during the war. Durantaye, (who still commanded at Michillimakinac, and, on account of his good qualities, was highly acceptable to the savages) was ordered, at the same time, to collect all the force he could, and to proceed to Niagara; but in his march, to harrafs the Indians who were enemies to the French, taking care to make prisoners of as many of the Onnondagans as he could, not only because they were the most harmless of all the Indian savages at war with the French, but that the governor-general might have
captives

captives in his hands to exchange if there should be any occasion.

De Tonti could bring to the field no more than eighty Illinois. Having intelligence that the Tsonnonthouans were preparing to fall upon their villages, they had put themselves in motion to invade them; but understanding from colonel Dungan, that the French were about to make themselves masters of the Illinois canton, they returned home to defend their own country; and De Tonti joined Du Luth at the entry of the strait of Lake Huron. The missionaries, on this occasion, saved the French in Canada from destruction. The natives, savage as they were, perceived that the French intended to enslave them; and all the authority of Durantaye and Du Luth could not bring the Hurons and the Outawas to join them. They even entered into a treaty with the Iroquois, when the missionaries found means to gain over their two chiefs, and sent them to treat with Denonville, who, on this occasion, acknowledged to his court the important service of the missionaries, and engaged the chiefs in his interest.

He was by this time in readiness to enter upon action, and was encamped at the isle of St. Helen, opposite Montreal; his army consisting of eight hundred and thirty-two regulars, one thousand Canadians, and about three hundred savages. The good understanding between the go-
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vernor-general and the new intendant, served to supply this army with abundance of provisions. After three days sail, Champigni, with thirty men, detached himself from the main body, to dispose every thing at Cataracuoy for forwarding the expedition. There Denonville received a letter from Dungan, reproaching him with his intention of making war upon the subjects of Great Britain; but the Frenchman seeing himself at the head of an army, answered this letter in a very haughty stile; and Durantaye attacked and plundered, upon Lake Huron, sixty English traders, who were bound to Michillimakinac, under pretence that such a trade was contraband, and contrary to the orders of the two courts.

The main body of the French army then marched into the country of the Tsonnonthouans, where they were attacked, and must have been defeated, by eight hundred of those savages, had not their own Indians made head against them. Here they lost father Aniebran, a Jesuit, one of the most active missionaries, as he was fighting against the enemy in the foremost ranks. The loss of the Tsonnonthouans amounted to forty-five killed, and sixty wounded.—After this action, during ten days, which they spent in ravaging and traversing the country, they did not find in it one inhabitant; some part of the natives having fled to the country of the Goyogouins, and the others to New York, where they were kindly received, and furnished with

with arms and ammunition by colonel Dongan. The mutinies of the savages who appear to have been the most useful body in this expedition, obliged the French general to leave the country of the Tsonnonthouans, and to march towards Niagara, which he did, after a most disgraceful and unmanly expedition, in which he met with little or no opposition, and employed his arms chiefly on the defenceless houses and stores of the inhabitants. Notwithstanding the inutility of this campaign, Denonville thought he could close it by an important service in building a fort at Niagara, where the chevalier De La Troye was left with a garrison of a hundred men ; but being soon after attacked by epidemical diseases, they all died. In the mean time, colonel Dungan left no methods untried to alienate the affections of the savages from the French interest ; nor was Denonville idle, on his part, for he built the fort at Niagara ; and being powerfully seconded by Garakonthie's interest, prevailed so far upon the savages, that they broke off their connexions with the governor of New York, and preserved their friendship with the French.— After this he projected another expedition against the Tsonnonthouans, who, by this time, had formed a secret intelligence with the Indians of Michilimakinack, the most useful allies the French had amongst the savages. Denonville, however, was somewhat embarrassed in executing his resolution, by the orders he received from his court to give
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no umbrage to the English.—A mortality now broke out at Cataracuoy, Niagara, and in other parts of Canada ; while the aversion which Denonville had at treating with the savages, or even bearing the sight of them, encreased the miseries of the colony. He still depended on the pacific orders Dungan received from the court of England, and on the terror with which the savages were struck by his late expedition against the Tsonnonthouans ; but he was deceived ; for on the third of November, Fort Chambly was on the sudden besieged by a large detachment of Agniers and Mahingans ; who, though they were obliged to abandon their enterprize, succeeded so far as to burn several plantations, and to carry off a number of prisoners. The French did not fail to attribute this attempt to Dungan, and raised him so many enemies amongst their Indians, that he was obliged to keep in pay a body of twelve hundred Iroquois, during all the winter, to cover his government.

The base conduct of Denonville, in seizing the chiefs of the Iroquois at Cataracuoy had sufficiently irritated those savages, and occasioned them to make reprisals. Lamberville who was sent to treat with them apologised for the governor's conduct, and presented them with two belts of wampum, the one to induce them to treat their prisoners well, and the other to prevail with them not to take part with the Tsonnonthouans in the war ; but both those belts were immediately sent to colonel Dungan.

gan, who soon after dispatched a messenger to know the meaning of their having been presented by Lamberville to the Onnondagans. Denonville sent father Vaillant du Gueslis with his answer, but, in fact, to be a spy upon Dungan; who, after some conversation, told him in plain terms, that the French in Canada could never hope to be at peace with the Iroquois, but upon four conditions. The first was, the returning their countrymen whom they had sent to the galleys; the second, that they should oblige the Iroquois christians, who had been settled at the Fall of St. Lewis and in the highlands, to return to their native cantons; the third, that the forts at Cataracuoy and Niagara should be demolished; and the fourth, that the Tsonnonthouans should be indemnified for all their losses during the late expedition. Dungan, after this plain declaration, dismissed the missionary, without suffering him to have any communication with the savages.

The savages took Dungan's advice, by keeping quiet all the remaining part of the winter; but early in the spring of 1688, a party of them surprised and killed some of a French convoy in their return from Fort Cataracuoy to Montreal; and the colony of New France was so weak, that Denonville knew not how to check them. All he could do was to employ Lamberville, to endeavour to bring off the Onnondagans from their union with the other Iroquois cantons. By this time, the mis-

fionary Vaillant was returned to fort Cataracuoy, attended by two savages, whom colonel Dungan had appointed as his guard, to prevent his conversing with the Agniers. Lamberville had the address to gain over one of those savages, and to persuade him to repair to the country of the Onondagans, where he was to lay before them the interested views of colonel Dungan, in bringing them to break with the French. The savage found all the cantons assembled, and an army of one thousand men ready to take the field against the French, at whom they were greatly exasperated. He succeeded, however, so far as to induce them to send deputies to treat with Denonville; but he could not prevent a resolution which five hundred of their warriors took, to attend those deputies as safeguards.

Haaskouaun who the mouth of the deputation, and laid before the French the miserable state of the colony, with the strength of the Iroquois, and endeavoured to make them sensible with what ease the latter could drive the French out of Canada. He then made a merit of his having persuaded his countrymen to advise the governor of his danger, and to give him four days time to deliberate, whether he would or would not accept of the terms proposed to him by Corlar, (meaning colonel Dungan.) Nothing could be more mortifying than the situation of the French colony at this time. Twelve hundred savages were ready to
attack

attack Montreal. The French inhabitants between Sorel River and Magdalen Meadow durst not stir abroad for fear of being surpris'd ; an account had come of the extinction of the garrison of fort Niagara, and there was danger lest the last resource of the colony, the negotiation with the Onnondagans, should be cut off by the governor's entering into hostilities with the other Indians. By this time, eight hundred of them had besieged the fort of Cataracuoy ; Lake Ontario was covered with their canoes ; and they destroyed all the French settlements on its borders ; but the Onnondagan captives, whom Denonville had freed, arrived on their return to their own country at Cataracuoy, almost at the instant when the fort was about to be surrendered. One of the prisoners happening to be nephew to the chief who commanded the siege, his kinsman's deliverance made such an impression upon him, that he immediately drew off his troops. On the eighth of June following, deputies from the Onnondagans, the Onneyouths, and the Goyogouins, arrived at Montreal to treat of peace, which being concluded upon, Denonville agreed that the fort at Niagara should be demolished ; and he dispatched a messenger to the French court, requesting that the Iroquois chiefs, who had been sent to the gallies, might be delivered up. At the same time, Dungan amused the French with the orders he said he had received from the king his master, to observe the neutrality that had been

concluded between him and his most christian majesty; but these appearances were not followed by proportionable effects.—A convoy of provisions was ordered for fort Cataracuooy; but the Iroquois plundered one of the canoes, though they had left five hostages for the security of the convoy. Soon after, these Indians appeared in arms in several of the most defenceless possessions of the French. But the governor-general taking the field with all the force he could raise, and coming up with the savages at Lake Sacrament, killed and took prisoners several of the enemy, who, according to the French, had been prevailed upon by colonel Dungan, who had furnished them with arms and ammunition, to commit those infractions of the late treaty; and this vigorous proceeding procured some respite to the colony. Meanwhile, though the court of France paid little regard to several remonstrances which Denonville sent to them, yet the continuance of the evils soon justified his complaints. The savages, even those who were otherwise attached to the French, every day more and more despised them, for having had a peace, in a manner, forced upon them by the Iroquois.

The Abenakis, however, are to be excepted from this number, as were the Iroquois of the Fall of St. Lewis and the highlands, with the Hurons of Michillimakinac. The Abenakis, while Denonville was treating with the other savages, took the field, and marching towards the River Sorcl, there
fur-

surprised and killed some of the Mahingans and Iroquois ; and then, advancing towards the English settlements, they brought from thence a number of scalps, while the Iroquois of the Fall and the highlands, did the same in their parts of the country. The Hurons of Michillimakinac were still more averse to the peace, and the dislike both of them and the other savages we have mentioned, towards the treaty between Denonville and the Iroquois, most probably arose from their believing that the Iroquois wanted only to amuse the French governor into a treaty, that they might with the greater ease fall upon his allies *.

* One Kondiaronk, surnamed the Rat, was at the head of the Michillimakinac Hurons ; and he is represented as having been a savage of more than common resolution and accomplishments. Putting himself at the head of a chosen band, he marched from Michillimakinac towards Cataracouy, where the French governor informed him of the treaty depending between Denonville and the Iroquois, which, he said, was so far advanced that the governor-general was waiting at Montreal for the ambassadors and hostages of that nation ; adding, that he could not do a more acceptable service to the French, than by returning home without offering the smallest violence to the Iroquois.

The Rat heard this discourse without discovering the smallest emotion or dislike ; but, leaving the fort, he ambushed his company at a place by which he knew the ambassadors and the hostages must pass ; and, watching his opportunity, he killed some of them, and took others prisoners, of which last number was Tegassaifforens, whom we have already mentioned, and who was one of the ambassadors. The chief, after this, is said to have returned to Cataracouy, and to have boasted, “ that he had killed “ the peace.”

At

At this time came letters from Andros, newly made governor of New York, enjoining them to break off all treaty with the French, but with the participation of his Britannic majesty, who, considering them as his own children, would suffer them to want for nothing. He, at the same time, informed Denonville by writing, that he was not to expect any peace with the Iroquois, but upon the terms that had been proposed by his predecessor; though, at the same time, he acquainted him that he was so well disposed to a good understanding with the French, that he had ordered all the English subjects within his governments not to molest the inhabitants of New France.

At length the French laid a scheme for conquering New York from the English; and Callieres, took shipping for France, to propose it to that court. He accordingly presented a memorial to the ministry, setting forth the necessity of such an enterprize. He demanded to be put at the head of thirteen hundred regulars, and three hundred Canadians. With this force he was to go up the River Sorel to Lake Champlain, under pretence of making war upon the Iroquois, but, in reality, to fall upon New York, the conquest of which he thought was very practicable. He represented, that the revolution which had now taken place in England, the inhabitants of New York, who most of them were Dutch, would infallibly take part with the prince of Orange against king James, which
still

still strengthened the necessity there was for subduing them.

The armament was fitted out at Rochfort, and Cassiniere, the commander, was instructed to follow count Frontenac's orders, who was immediately to sail with the squadron for the entry of the Gulph of St. Laurence, from whence he was to repair to the Bay of Canso in Acadia, and then to Quebec; while Cassiniere remained on the coasts of Acadia, where he was to make prizes of all the English ships he met with. Callieres was to be dispatched before-hand, the moment the squadron entered the Gulph of St. Laurence, where he was to make preparations for the expedition against New York, but concealing his real object under different pretexts. As the greatest diligence was necessary, and as the enterprize could be executed in no other season but the autumn, Frontenac, on his arrival at Quebec, was to set out with the boats, attended by De Callieres, who was to act as lieutenant-general, and, at the same time, to dispatch an express in cypher, ordering Cassiniere with his squadron to sail directly to Manhatta in New York. During Frontenac's absence, Vaudreuil was to act as his lieutenant in New France; and when New York was subdued, Frontenac was to require from the English catholics an oath of fidelity to his most christian majesty, and to suffer them to remain in their possessions. De Callieres was to act as governor of New York, under the governor-general of New France.

France. All the Iroquois villages near Manhatta, or the city of New York, were to be destroyed, and the others put under contribution.

The French squadron arrived on the twelfth of September, at Chedabouctou, and on, the eighteenth, they were joined by the merchant ships, which had been very roughly treated by storms on the banks of Newfoundland. Next day, Frontenac embarked on board a merchant ship for Quebec, but with very little hopes of being able, in that advanced season, to succeed against New York, and before he parted, he left a set of instructions for Cassiniere's conduct, who took a great many ships, but found it impossible to touch at Port Royale through contrary winds; and the case of Frontenac, in his voyage to the Pierced Island, was pretty much the same; so that it was the twenty-seventh of October before he arrived at Montreal. — Denonville continued to be governor of New France till Frontenac's arrival; but, when the latter joined him at Montreal, he found the affairs of the colony in a deplorable situation. On the twenty-fifth of August preceding, while the inhabitants of that island thought themselves perfectly secure, fifteen hundred Iroquois in the night-time, fell upon La Chine, a settlement, which lies three leagues farther up the river than the town of Montreal. The savages, finding the inhabitants asleep, massacred the men; and then, setting fire to the houses, the remaining inhabitants fell into their

their hands. The cruelties exercised on the prisoners are said to have been very shocking. They then proceeded towards Montreal, and carried off two hundred prisoners, whom they put to death by the torture. Denonville, being then at Montreal, ordered an officer to take possession of a fort, which he was afraid the savages might seize. The fort was immediately invested, and its garrison, being every man of them, killed in defending it, but the officer, who was desperately wounded, the fort fell into the hands of the savages, who thereby became masters of all the open part of the island, which they continued to ravage in a most inhuman manner, without opposition. Frontenac being on his arrival informed of these calamities, was sensible that they were owing to his not being able to come three months sooner to Montreal. The consternation of the whole colony had been such, that Denonville sent orders to Valrenes, who commanded at Cataracuoy, to abandon that post, to blow up the fortifications, and to destroy all the provisions he could not carry off, in case he received no reinforcement before November. Frontenac hearing of those orders, opposed them strongly; but Denonville justified them from the inutility of the fort, in answering the purposes for which it was built, and the vast expence it occasioned both of men and money to maintain it. Frontenac, who was the founder of this fort, was afflicted beyond conception, when he heard from

Valrenes, that the walls of the fort were undermined, and the place was, by that time, blown up.

It was now become more necessary to invade New York. Plans for this expedition were sent to Old France; but the government there, excused themselves from giving the colonists any assistance, on account of the expensive wars they had upon their hands, and counsiled the governor to act only upon the defensive. — In the mean time the Iroquois, who had been sent to the gallies, were set at liberty, and returned to America. Amongst these was one Ourcouharé, a Goyoguin, whom Frontenac endeavoured, by every possible means, to bring over to his views. At Montreal was one Gagniegaton, a deputy of the Iroquois, whom Ourcouharé advised to send back, with four of the Indian prisoners, instructing them to speak much in favour of the governor. In 1690, the cantons met, and sent back deputies with their answer to Montreal, who concluded a treaty, with all the ceremonies usual in such cases. These were permitted to depart as soon as the rivers were navigable, and Ourcouharé gave them no less than eight belts; saying at the same time, that, for his part, he would not leave Ononthio, till a deputation should be sent to solicit his return. He spoke much against the English settlers of New York, and told them, that they might go in safety with the chevalier D'Eau, who was appointed to conduct them to Montreal. The Outawas at this period

riod, concluded a treaty with the Iroquois, without consulting the French in the matter. Durantaye however, and the missionaries, found means to become acquainted with the whole of their proceedings, with which, by means of the Sieur Joliet, he made Frontenac acquainted, who brought him a letter from the missionary Carbeil, which laid open the state of the colony ; in answer to which, he ordered Durantaye, to assure the Hurons and Outawas at Michillimakinac, that they should soon see an alteration of affairs. He then laid down his dispositions for attacking the English. A company of a hundred and ten men, French and savages, were raised at Montreal, under the command of two lieutenants, who had their choice of the post which they were to attack, and they determined on that of Orange. In this resolution they were vigorously opposed by the savages; and they marched, without coming to any resolution, till they arrived at a place, where the road separated into two; one leading to Orange, and the other to Corlar, which the savages agreed to attack. This resolution being fixed, they proceeded in a most fatiguing march for nine days, to Corlar. Being arrived within two leagues of it, the chief of the Iroquois settlement at the Fall of St. Lewis, who was commonly called the Grand Agnier, in a formal harangue, which he made to the whole party, in a strain of frantic enthusiasm, inveighed against the English, as being enemies to God. Soon

after, they were informed by four savage women, whom they met, in all they wanted to know about the strength and situation of the place, which, upon their arrival at it, they found open, even its gates not being shut, and they entered it in the night *.

Upon the return of this party to Montreal, two French officers, one of whom had been present at the attack of Corlar, raised a party of popish Iroquois, and gave the command of it to the Grand Agnier, to make excursions against the Iroquois. In this expedition, they took forty-two prisoners, among whom were eight English. Hearing that a hundred Mahingans were waiting for them, and their number being inferior, they marched towards the Salmon River, which they reached on the fourth of June; and here they began to make new canoes, they having left their own at a great distance. While they were busied in this employment, they were discovered by a party of Algonquins and Abenakis, who, taking them for English, with whom they likewise were at war,

* The accounts given of this boasted expedition by the French authors represent it as a masterpiece of courage in warlike operations; whereas, in fact, it was as cowardly as it was inhuman. The party entering the place without resistance, butchered men, women, and children, till, tired with murder, they gave quarter to forty of the English, whom they carried into slavery. But Coudray, the governor, who, very possibly, was in concert with them, was saved, and all his property; as was the house of a woman, to which one of the wounded lieutenants was carried.

attacked

attacked them before day, and the Grand Agnier was killed at the first onset, as were six other Iroquois. The mistake was soon discovered by the prisoners each party made; but the French Iroquois, in resentment of their chief's death, refused to deliver up their captives. This produced a difference between the two parties, which all the art and authority of the governor could not, for some time, compose. Frontenac had likewise planned two other expeditions; one from Trois Rivières, and the other from Quebec, that a spirit of emulation might be raised all over the colony, and the command of the whole was given to an officer, named Hertel. After a fatiguing march, he came to an English settlement, which the French name Sementel, at six leagues distance from Piscataqua in New England. The French surprised this settlement, and cut in pieces all they found in it, excepting fifty-four persons, whom they carried off captives; and, after burning all the houses, and sheep and cattle in the stables, they prepared to make their retreat, for fear it should be cut off by the inhabitants of Piscataqua.

By this time, the Quebec party had taken the field under one Portneuf; and Hertel, upon his return, understanding that he was within two days march of them, dispatched his nephew with an account of his success to the governor-general, and set out to join the Quebec party, within four leagues of Casco Bay, which they were determined to

to attack ; though the place mounted eight cannon, and was well provided with every thing necessary for a defence. Four savages, and two French, were employed to alarm the fort, which they did, by raising the Indian cry ; and having killed an Englishman, fifty of the garrison marched out, and received the fire of the French, who lay in ambush, and who afterwards attacking the English party with swords and hatchets, killed them all but four, who regained the fort, but all of them wounded. Towards the evening, Portneuf summoned the governor of Casco Bay to surrender ; but was answered by the latter, That he would defend his fort to the last. This, at first, startled Portneuf, whose commission from Frontenac, only imported, that he should ravage the open country ; but, summoning all his spirit *, the reply he made to the answer of the English governor, was, That he must surrender the fort, with all the provisions and ammunition within it : and, though the English demanded six days to consider, they were allowed only one night. The defenceless state of the place

* The French writers say, that besides the main fort at Casco Bay, four others had been raised, but all of them were evacuated, in order to reinforce the principal garrison. Those forts, however, appear to have been only the defenceless houses of the inhabitants ; and the main fort, notwithstanding all the French writers, who had their information only from those who had an interest in magnifying their own exploits, was little better than defenceless.

obliged

obliged the garrison to capitulate; but Portneuf would give the governor no other terms than those of surrendering himself and his garrison prisoners of war, which they accordingly did, being reduced to the last extremity. Scarcely was the place evacuated when an English squadron appeared to relieve it; but its commander not seeing the British colours flying, concluded that the fort had been taken, and being confirmed in his opinion, by none of his signals being answered, he returned back; while Portneuf not only plundered and demolished the fort, but all the houses in its neighbourhood. This inconsiderable conquest, though magnified by the French, was not, however, thought sufficient to answer their main purpose; which was that of bringing their savage allies into a state of independance upon the English.

Frontenac, about a month after Portneuf's return to Quebec, sent De La Porte Louvigny, a reformed captain, and Perrot, with a strong convoy from Montreal to Michillimakinac, charged with presents from the governor-general to the savages, and a commission to supersede Durantayne in that station.—This officer was attended, in going to take possession of his new command, by a hundred and forty-three French; many of whom had large quantities of fur at Michillimakinac, which they could not before carry off for fear of the savages. They were escorted by two French officers, and

and six savages ; but on the twenty-third of May, being the day after they embarked, they discovered two Iroquois canoes. Upon this, Louvigny detached thirty of his retinue in canoes, and sixty by land, to surround the enemy, who were suspected to be very numerous, though they did not appear. The canoe men fell into an ambuscade of the Iroquois, who killed far the greater part of them. At first, Perrot, under whose command Louvigny was during the journey, would not suffer the latter to march against the savages ; but, at length, he gave him leave, and Louvigny, at the head of fifty or sixty French, killed about thirty of the Iroquois, wounded a great number, and made some prisoners, the remainder of them escaping with great difficulty to their canoes.

The Outawas ambassadors were now on the point of setting out from Michillimakinac, to conclude a definitive treaty with the Iroquois ; but the news of the victories of the French, and the magnificent presents they brought, gave a new turn to their sentiments ; which Perrot improved with so much address, that they entered with more zeal than ever into the French interest. A hundred and ten canoes, loaded with furs and skins, to the value of one hundred thousand crowns, under the convoy of three hundred northern savages, immediately set out for Montreal, where they found the count De Frontenac.

The

The chevalier D'Eau, who had been sent as ambassador and spy to Onnontague, and all the French in his retinue, had been put in confinement by the savages, and sent him prisoner to **Manhatta**, to prove their aversion to any peace with the French, and they even went so far, as to burn two Frenchmen of his retinue. Frontenac upon this, ordered two detachments of his best troops, one under the command of the chevalier De Clermont, to guard the southern parts of the colony from Montreal, to the River Sorel ; and the other, under the command of the chevalier De La Motte, to secure it from Montreal to Quebec. The colonists of Canada durst not venture abroad, either to cultivate their lands, or cut down their harvests ; so that the colony itself was threatened with famine. On the eighteenth of August, De La Chiffaigne, commandant at fort La Chine, was informed, that a great number of canoes were seen upon Lake St. Lewis. Frontenac, who was then at Montreal, immediately concluding that they were filled with Iroquois, gave orders for a vigorous defence, but he soon understood that they were no other than the grand convoy from Michilimakinac, which we have already mentioned. The joy of the French at understanding this, was excessive, and the convoy was received under peals of acclamations from the inhabitants. In the mean time, an Iroquois, who was nephew to the grand Agnier, and who had been sent out to re-

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connoitre towards Orange, had, in his return, discovered, that a large body of men were employed in making canoes upon Lake Sacrament. This Indian was so much attached to the French, that the truth of his report, with many circumstances attending it, to do honour to himself, was so far from being questioned by Frontenac, that he immediately gave orders for putting the town and island of Montreal in a proper posture of defence. He called together all his savage allies who were upon the spot; and, after feasting them with great profusion, he informed them, that he was resolved never to make peace with the Iroquois, till he should reduce them to beg it upon terms as advantageous to his allies as to the French, and that he considered both as being equally his children. His behaviour charmed the savages to a degree of enthusiasm for his person, and he was answered with peals of universal acclamation. Next day, upon advice that great numbers of canoes were seen on Lake Champlain, signals were given for assembling the regulars and the militia; and on the thirty-first of August, Frontenac, upon Magdalen Mead, reviewed the savages, who were so eager for the service, that all of them appeared under arms, without their leaving a man to take care of their merchandizes, and the army was found to consist of twelve hundred men*.

* Some of the savages of the Fall of St. Lewis, took this opportunity to invite all the chiefs of the other cantons to go to

Next

Next day, the scouts reported, that they could discover no enemy, nor any footsteps of one; upon which, the army was dismissed till farther orders, and the inhabitants fell to their harvest work, which was the main object of their concern. Some time after, a party of Iroquois surprised a defenceless number of the French inhabitants and soldiers, carelessly at work in the field, and killed or took prisoners six soldiers, eleven inhabitants, and four women, besides putting to death a number of horned cattle, and burning the neighbouring houses and storehouses; but upon an appearance of some troops approaching, the savages retired to the woods. Frontenac, incensed with these surprisals, reproached Oureouharé with the insensibility of his countrymen, as to all the kindnesses he had done to him and them. The savage made the best apology he could for

Ononchio's quarters. There being assembled, one Lewis Atherihata, a popish chief of Lewis's Fall, very artfully addressed himself to the company, but more particularly to the Outawas, whom he advised to lay before their father Ononchio, their inmost sentiments, and to disclose the true reasons of their late treaty with the Iroquois. The spokesman of the Outawas, upon this, apologized in the best manner he could for his countrymen, and promised an inviolable fidelity to Ononchio in time to come, in which he was seconded by all the other chiefs present. Frontenac very properly thought, that some altercations might arise, if the company continued longer together, and after thanking Lewis Atherihata for so seasonable an interview, he promised him another meeting as soon as the enemy should be repulsed.

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their behaviour ; and so entirely disarmed Frontenac of all resentment towards himself, that that governor resolved to trust and employ him, more than ever. While Frontenac was preparing to return to Quebec, an officer from thence brought him two letters from Prevot, who commanded there during the governor's absence. The first, dated the fifth, gave him advice, that he had been informed by an Abenakis, of thirty ships having left Boston, in order to besiege Quebec. The second letter gave advice of twenty-four English ships, some of which were large, having appeared off Tadoussac. Upon this alarming account Frontenac and Champigny immediately embarked on board a small vessel for Quebec ; and soon after another courier came from Perrot, with advice that two French ladies had been taken by a fleet of thirty-four sail, which, at the time of his writing, might be at the isle of Condres or Hazels.

An English squadron which had appeared off Casco Bay, did not come time enough to prevent its falling into the hands of the French ; upon which they sailed to Port Royal, which surrendered upon terms. Notwithstanding which, Phipps carried off with him Manneval, a serjeant, and thirty-eight soldiers ; and he obliged the inhabitants to take an oath of fidelity to king William and queen Mary, and that he had left his first serjeant to command Port Royal, appointing six of the principal inhabitants to be of his council for administering justice.

justice. From Port Royal, Phipps sailed to Chedabouctou, where he summoned Montorgeruil to surrender it. Though that officer had no more than fourteen men in garrison, he made so brave a defence, that Phipps was obliged to set fire to the place before he would listen to a capitulation, which was at last granted him upon honourable terms; and he and his garrison were conducted in safety to Placentia.

The chevalier De Villebon was now arrived from France to take upon him the command of Acadia, and had a narrow escape from being taken by two English pirates, whom he in vain attempted to surprise, and who fell upon Port Royal, where they are said to have been guilty of great cruelties. This commander afterwards returning to France undertook to drive the English out of Canada with the assistance only of the Abenaguais and other savages in alliance with his nation. —The proposal had too great a shew of probability as it seems in the eyes of the French court to be rejected, and he returned to Quebec in July 1691, with all the power and encouragement he could desire.

The expedition which the English had concerted at this time against Quebec, must certainly have succeeded, even before Frontenac could have been informed of their designs, had not the weather proved extremely unfavourable as it was. —The first thing the French governor did, when
he

he was convinced of the danger, was to send the commandant of Trois Rivieres with orders to Callieres to come to Quebec directly with all the force he could raise. Frontenac entering the city in October, found all things well disposed for its defence. He heard, at the same time, that the English were advanced as far as the Isle of Orleans; and issued his orders that the commanders of the militia on that side of the country should not stir from their posts till the enemy had made good their landing. — He took proper precautions that the coast should be well guarded, and his orders were so well obeyed, that the English at this time could not even send a boat on shore. Notice was given on all hands to prevent any of the shipping which might arrive from being surprised; batteries were erected on the shore, and every thing done which might contribute to the defence of the place. At length the English fleets appeared, consisting of thirty-four sail, and having on board about three thousand land forces. These coming to an anchor about ten in the morning sent a long boat on shore with a trumpet to the governor, whose report when he returned was so very unfavourable to the English that it struck them with terror and amazement; and Phipps, who commanded the expedition, seems to have sunk, all at once, from the very pinnacle of hope to the depth of despair *.

* Some time before, Phipps had taken prisoner one Grandville, a French officer, who had been dispatched by Prevot to

Two days after the boats made good their landing; however, an attack was made, in which the English lost about one hundred and fifty men, and were obliged to retreat before an inconsiderable number of the French and Canadians.

observe the motions of the English, and who, on his examination, frankly owned what he thought was the truth, that Quebec had neither fortifications, troops, nor a general to defend it. This account encouraged Phipps so much, that he boasted he should lie in the governor of Quebec's palace that very night.

Frontenac seeing the long boat, with the messenger, who was a trumpet, put off from the fleet, sent an officer, who met him half way, and muffling his eyes, carried him round all the fortifications, where the soldiers and inhabitants purposely increased the noises of military hurry all round him, and, at last, carried him to the great-hall. He was astonished, when unblinded, to find himself before the governor-general, the bishop, the intendant, and a large body of officers, all of them with looks of defiance and resolution. This was so much the reverse of what he expected, that he trembled when he presented the manifesto of the English admiral. It reproached the French and their savages with the cruelties which they had committed upon the subjects of England; demanded all the prisoners that they had should be delivered up; that the governor, garrison, and inhabitants should surrender themselves at discretion, and concluded, by giving the governor-general only one hour to consider of his answer. This summon being read aloud, created great indignation in the Frenchmen, which was redoubled, when the trumpet, pulling out a watch, said he could not stay after such an hour.

Some of the French officers then called out, that the trumpet ought to be treated as belonging to a pirate, who was in arms against his lawful sovereign, and who had acted as a true pirate, by breaking the capitulation he had made at Port Royal with Manneval. Frontenac answered the trumpet, by reproaching

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In the afternoon succeeding this defeat, and the day after the town was cannonnaded but with little success, till the English, impatient of the fire from the batteries, drew off, and the soldiers encamped near Beaupre, demanded to be led to a close engagement. Accordingly they were drawn out in line of battle; but had not proceeded far on their march towards Quebec, before they were attacked by M. St. Helene, a Canadian officer at the head of two hundred men. They retreated before these with loss; but, gaining the shelter of a wood, made a noble stand, and began a smart fire, in which action St. Helene was mortally wounded, and the enemy was retiring when Frontenac advanced with three hundred men, and claimed the honour of a victory, which, by this time, there was no one left to dispute; for he had come too late for the engagement, and retired into the city without seeking to renew it; while the English, watching their opportunity, carried off all the cattle they could find, in order to revictual their fleet.

Phipps and the English, for their rebellion against their lawful sovereign, [meaning king James the Second, who had lately abdicated] in whose right he said he acted. He likewise mentioned the affair of Manneval with great indignation, and concluded, by saying, that he would give no other answer to the insolent summon, but by the mouth of his cannon. He then ordered the trumpet to be again blindfolded, and reconducted to the place where he was taken up.

The

The next night the admiral sent on shore five six-pounders, with which the English flattered themselves that they should be able to batter the town in breach.—In the mean while the enemy so advantageously disposed themselves, that the besiegers fell into several ambuscades before they were observed; and though they fought bravely, and often repulsed the assailants, yet the latter, at last, united all their parties, and made such a dreadful fire that the English were obliged to fly, leaving behind them their cannon, powder, and ball; whilst, on the side of the French, if we may believe their writers, only one ranger was killed and a savage wounded. The Canadians seized the spoils which they kept, in spite of all the attempts of the English to regain them: and Frontenac presented the militia with two pieces of ordnance which themselves had made prize of, as a reward for the valour they had shewn in the action. In the mean time, a body of three thousand English and Indians had been drawing together, in order to attempt the conquest of Montreal: but while the former were on their march the small-pox broke out amongst them which they communicated to their savages; eight hundred of whom dying of the distemper, the army was immediately broken up.

As soon as Phipps received the disagreeable news of the army's separation, he thought it high time to give over all thoughts of reducing Quebec, (to

the defence of which its governor had drawn together almost all the whole force of the French in America) and accordingly he entirely desisted from prosecuting a plan which had cost, according to the most moderate accounts, the lives of above six hundred Englishmen.

When Sir William made his retreat, he had not a cannon ball left; and in his return, he lost no fewer than nine ships for want of mariners to work them.—On the whole, this expedition seems to have been ill planned, and worse executed: natural causes concurred to frustrate it, and never did English soldiers make a worse figure than in this vain attempt. The unskilfulness of their pilots endangered the whole fleet; of which only four returned to Boston*. While the French shipping, to which Frontenac had sent a timely caution concealed themselves in the River Saguenay, till their enemies were returned home.

When these arrived, they found themselves not a little straitened for the want of provisions, and the inhabitants of Quebec were nearly in the same case, on the richest of whom, however, the governor made free to quarter the soldiers, who received them without murmuring. A noble instance of their patriotism and zeal for the welfare of their country.

* Several of them went in pursuit of such French vessels as were cruising on the banks of Newfoundland.

It was some time after this expedition, in the year 1691, that deputies arrived from the Agniers (who were in arms against the French) to beg a peace as they said, and a piece of ground in the neighbourhood of the Falls of St. Lewis. These Indians informed the government that one thousand Iroquois were on the point of entering New France near Trois Rivières. — This body appeared in the May following, at a little distance from Montreal, where they began hostilities, and afterwards dispersed themselves in different parties, from Repentigny as far as the Isles of Richelieu. — Vaudreuil at the head of above a hundred soldiers surprised fifteen of the savages, who took shelter in a lone house from whence they made a vigorous defence; and Bienville, a French officer of note lost his life in the action. At length, Vaudreuil set fire to the building and the whole party was destroyed, either by the flames, or the swords of their enemies*.

The Iroquois at this time had posted themselves on the Outawas River, where they proposed to

* Amongst the officers who distinguished themselves on this occasion, was the chevalier De Crisafy, who, with his brother the marquis of the same name, was a Sicilian, and who, having unsuccessfully endeavoured to raise a rebellion in that island, against the king of Spain, in favour of the French king, they were obliged to fly to his protection; but he gave them no other reward for their treasons, than each of them a company in Canada, where they behaved with great courage and fidelity to the prince whose interest they espoused.

murder all the French passing and repassing on the road to Michillimakinac *, and then to fall upon the back settlements; but, perceiving their designs discovered, and perhaps fearing for their own country, they broke up their camp without being attacked; whilst, in the spring, two French officers found means to pass through the very midst of the Iroquois in arms, and brought to Michillimakinac the account of the English miscarriage before Quebec.

In the summer a plan was laid for retaking Port Nelson upon Hudson's Bay from the English; but it came to nothing, and the commander of

† The Onondagan canton, on pretence of deploring the death of St. Helene, son to Le Moyne, whose family they had adopted, sent a belt of wampum, together with two female-mountaineers, who had been for some time prisoners in their canton. Those women were intrusted with two belts of wampum, one of which they were secretly to give to one of the principal inhabitants of the villages of the mountain, and the other to Lewis Atherihata, who was godson to his most christian majesty, and was the principal inhabitant of the Fall of St. Lewis. The intention of those belts was to invite them to return, with as many of their friends and relations as they could bring with them, to their mother-country, that they might avoid being involved in the general massacre which was intended against all the French. The belts were accordingly delivered; but the savages, to whom they were intrusted, carried them directly to the governor of Montreal, to whom they also swore an inviolable fidelity.—And it was from the information of these Indians and the two women that the French were timely put upon their guard.

the

the intended expedition changed his design to that of clearing the River St. Laurence of the English privateers which infested it.

At the instigation of Phipps a new armament was raised in order to make attempts upon the French in Canada, and five hundred men were assembled in the province of New York in order to attack Montreal, while the French commandant assembled his men in Magdalen's Meadow, and reinforced Fort Chambly, which he understood the English intended to attack. Some smart encounters ensued near that place, in which the French lost M. St. Cyrque, and many of their soldiers. At length, however, the English and their Indians were constrained to retreat, leaving their enemies, for the present, at liberty to get in their harvest; but these were soon after interrupted by large bodies of the Iroquois, and obliged to mingle war with the industry. Ourecoharé was the greatest chief among the French Indians, and he did them signal service in repulsing those savages, who would otherwise have made great havock among them*.

The chevalier Villebon now arrived, and having been nominated governor of Acadia, he set out

* He soon after paid a visit to Frontenac at Quebec, where he was so cordially received, that he declared, though many Indian nations offered to chuse him for their chief, he was resolved to refuse them all and spend the remainder of his days in the service (as he said) of his father Ononthio.

on an expedition to Port Royale, where we are told that he found the English flag still flying, but no garrison. He ordered it immediately to be taken down and French colours hoisted in its place; after which he once more took formal possession for his countrymen *.

Frequent rencounters between the English, the Iroquois, the French, and their Indians filled up the remainder of this year. In 1692, Callieres assembled a body of troops with intent to march them to the Peninsula, where the Outawas River joins that of St. Laurence, and D'Orvilliers was appointed to command them; but meeting with an accident on his road, he returned to Montreal. One Beaucourt succeeded him in the command, and marched his men to the Isle of Taniatha, where he attacked, and routed several straggling parties of Indians; but at length, fearing he might fall in with some larger bodies, he returned to Montreal, from whence Frontenac dispatched Michel at the head of some French and thirty savages, who some

* One Des Goutins, who acted as his commissary, took this opportunity of informing the assembly, that, when the place was taken by Phipps, he had buried one thousand three hundred livres in a certain spot, which being accordingly dug, the money, which belonged to the king was found, and faithfully applied by the officer to the service of the public; an act of integrity, the remembrance of which afterwards procured his acquittal without trial, when a charge of malversation was brought against him.

time after fell into an ambuscade, and was taken prisoner by the savages *. Whilst these things were passing in the month of August, Frontenac put himself at the head of three hundred men, in order to protect those who were gathering in the harvest; and near Montreal he found two hundred Outawas, to whom he proposed an expedition against the Iroquois; but the savages declined the offer. About this time the chevalier d'Eau arrived in Canada.

Intelligence now arriving, that the English under Sir William Phipps were about to attack New France, a squadron of ships was detached to Spanish

* When Michel came to a place called the Carrying-place of the Cats, he saw two Iroquois scouts, and a great number of canoes in the water; upon which he returned again to Montreal, where sixty French savages three days after arrived with their cargoes of furs, having disposed of them, demanded an escort back to a certain place, where they were to separate. Michel offered to accompany them, and an escort, consisting of thirty men, was accordingly appointed. When they arrived at the Long Fall on the River St. Laurence, where they met with a carrying-place, they received a smart discharge of musquetry, without perceiving from whom it came, which made all the savages disappear, and killed and wounded a great many of the French; upon which the Indians rushing from their ambuscade, fell with the utmost fury upon the few survivors, Michel, La Gemberaye, and the Hertels, two ensigns, who were brothers, defended themselves with great valour, and would have fought their way through the Iroquois, had they not been abandoned by their own allies, by which means, Michel, and the two Hertels, were taken prisoners; but Gemberaye and some soldiers escaped to Montreal.

Bay,

Bay, under the command of Du Palais, who sent a vessel to look into the River St. Laurence, which being disabled by stress of weather never returned; and, in consequence, the French commander remained idle there, at a time when he might have intercepted the fleet of his enemies.

The French governor of Placentia having received advice on the fourteenth of September that a squadron was anchored within five miles of that place, the baron La Hontan was dispatched with about sixty men, to post himself where the English were most likely to land; who, on the seventeenth, manned their boats for that purpose, but discovering the enemy, made a feint, and went on shore at another place; while M. Brouillan erected batteries, and ordered a boom to be drawn across the harbour*.

* About noon that same day the governor discovered a boat with a flag of truce; and a serjeant was sent out, who brought the officer that carried it blindfold into the fort; where he informed the governor that he came from Mr. Williams, who was the English commodore, with his compliments, and to beg he would send an officer on board his ship, to whom he would explain his intentions, and treat with him concerning the release of certain French seamen, who were prisoners on board the English fleet. The governor agreed to this request, and sent La Hontan, and another officer, one Pastour, to confer with the commodore; and, in the mean while, the person, who carried the flag of truce summoned the governor, in the names of king William and queen Mary, to surrender the place, and all that the French had in the bay, which was refused in resolute terms.

The

The English squadron the next day found that they had no less than three forts to attack. They however at first began a very brisk cannonade; but about the evening of the nineteenth, they were obliged to draw off, the example having first been set them by the commodore; and the expedition ended in falling upon Point Vesti, where they burned many of the dwellings of the inhabitants.

Both nations were guilty of capital errors in their conduct, with regard to the affairs we have here mentioned. — It was undoubtedly a grand mistake in the French to suffer their shipping to lie idle in the Spanish Bay at a time like this, when they ought to have attacked the enemy: but nothing could equal the rashness of the English, in attacking a place, with the strength of which they were not acquainted, or the precipitancy of their retreat, when the French were so much in want of ammunition, that they were even reduced to their last charge of powder, and are said to have been forced to return the balls which they picked up in the engagement:—but it is supposed by some, that a kind of mutiny in the squadron, obliged the commanders to give over their enterprize, and likewise that this disturbance was occasioned by their ill conduct, of which they gave many glaring instances. On the whole, the expedition was far from doing honour to the assailants, who would most probably have suffered much more severely, had it not been

Bay, under the command of the governor, and the assistance of the defence sent a vessel to the mouth of the river.

which being informed of the success of the expedition, Phipps still continued to remain at the French settlements, and did not return towards Quebec. Meanwhile the English fortified himself in Fort St. James.

The French had an opportunity to dislodge the English from the parts, from whence an attempt was made to drive him, but in vain.—

The French had been commissioned by the court to expel the English from Port Nelson, and to take possession of the Bay, not arriving at Quebec till the middle of October, as it was judged too late to proceed upon that expedition, he was obliged to invest Fort Pemmaquid by land, while M. de la Riviere, who commanded the French squadron, was to attack it by sea; but the latter having no coasting pilots, declined the enterprize, and M. de la Riviere, with all his Indians, was obliged to retire without gaining any thing but his labour for his services.

Soon after, eight hundred Iroquois dividing themselves into two parties on the borders of New

France, though an excellent officer, had trusted too much to the assistance of the Indians; and an English gentleman, one Nelson, who was then prisoner at Quebec, had bribed two French officers, who gave intelligence to the English at Pemmaquid, and who were therefore on their guard, which had induced Iberville to abandon the undertaking, to the great discontent of the savages, who were with him, and who had formed great expectations of a successful plundering the place.

York,

York, from whence they seemed to threaten some terrible blow ; but the vigilance of count Frontenac, having put the French settlers on their guard, the savages gave over their designs, and retired disappointed. In the mean time, the French, who attributed these dispositions to the machinations of the Agniers, detached a large body of French and Agniers, to attack and destroy their settlements *. They found the Agniers divided into three townships, which they attacked and destroyed successfully. But in their return, they were harrassed by a body of Onneyouths, and being much perplexed for want of provisions, were obliged to separate into small parties, and the shattered remnant of the army arrived in a pitiful condition at Montreal, where by this time an alarm was spread of a design of the English to besiege Quebec with a powerful fleet and army.

By this time Michel, who had been taken prisoner by the Indians, having escaped from their hands, arrived at Quebec, who informed the French, that the Onnondagans had built a strong fort for

* The orders given on this occasion, were not to spare any male capable of bearing arms, but to put every one of them to the sword, and to carry off all the women and children captives, to people the French Indian settlements ; but their Indian allies, notwithstanding they promised to obey these cruel injunctions, obliged the French to spare a great number of their fellow savages, who were accordingly carried away captives.

the defence of their women and children, in case they should be attacked as the Agnier canton had been. A report had, before this period, been spread, of a resolution the English had taken to raise ten thousand men, to meet at Boston, six thousand of whom were said to be destined against Quebec ; but it now appeared that, how true soever the accounts of these preparations might be, those who communicated them had mistaken the place of their destination ; for they were not designed against the French settlements on the continent, but against Martinico, which expedition miscarrying, the Iroquois parties returned, and left the French unmolested.

During these transactions, one Tareha, an Indian chief, had arrived at Montreal, with proposals for a peace from the Onneyouth tribe, to which Frontenac listened, but with caution, demanding deputies from the canton ; to expedite the sending of whom, Tareha was dispatched, promising to return at an appointed time ; he accordingly came back, bringing with him a female Indian, whose good offices done to the French prisoners at Onneyouth, were the only apology for the haughty proposals he delivered from his countrymen, who, among other terms, expressly demanded, that the governor should send to treat with them in their own country, and that under the mediation of the English, a proposal which Frontenac rejected with disdain, and in spite of the natural propensity he had

had to recommend himself to the savages, could not help throwing out some menaces against them and their countrymen, which, perhaps, were not without their effects.

Garakonthie, and other Indian chiefs, still continued faithful to the interests of the French, who, notwithstanding, found themselves, at every opportunity, embarrassed by the Iroquois, who found it always more their interest to trade with the English than with them.—On the whole, though it must be owned that the internal government of the Canadians was better conducted than that of the New England men; and though their officers, both civil and military, were in general, men of great honour and abilities; yet, it is certain, that the taxes with which their commerce was loaded, and the inconvenience of the channels through which it passed, overballanced all these advantages; and they lost more by the avarice of some, than they gained by the patriotism of others. The neighbouring Indians saw this defect, and were not backward in taking advantage of it:—they drew disagreeable comparisons between the affluence of the English, and the poverty of their enemies.—They knew the sweets of trade and relished them: they united the vices of the Europeans with their own, and by this monstrous compound, formed among themselves, characters entirely unknown to any other people or climate. On the other hand, if the Indians borrowed from the luxury of their
guests

guests, these were not behind-hand (the French especially) in adopting the fraudulent and barbarous manners of their savage neighbours. The cruelties with which the Indian wars were carried on, even by the polished natives of France, were often shocking to humanity, and sometimes even exceeded those of their American friends. — It were to be wished, for the honour of our countrymen in those parts, that all charges of this kind brought against them were groundless; but though this is not the case, yet nothing is more certain than that we must yield ourselves far outdone by our enemies in these unmanly frauds and unchristian barbarities. It must be allowed on all hands, that the North American natives were, in general, a faithless and perfidious race, no longer to be depended on than while they were bribed into friendship, or awed into submission;—given to all manner of excesses, and of such weak heads and bad hearts, that when feasted and inflamed with liquor, they acted the part of madmen, destroying their friends and dearest relations, insomuch, that some of them have been obliged to be dispatched to prevent farther mischief. — Yet these people, bad as they were, might have been rendered more tolerable, had not the Europeans in general, and the French in particular, employed those arts which they should have used to civilize them in effecting their own partial purposes. The Jesuits who pretended to be most assiduous in reducing the savages to a social life, seldom succeeded; because

because some of them had private ends of their own in view, and the others were enthusiastic bigots, who contented themselves with the outward forms of the religion which they sought to propagate; and while they pretended to recommend some particular private virtues sapped the foundation of those more comprehensive ones which are the basis of all public peace, good government, and tranquillity. Nor were the English pastors wholly irreproachable on this head :—there are bigots in all religions. — A few plain moral rules would certainly have been of more use to the savages than all that superabundance of mysteries with which they were burthened.—The Indians, wild as they were, by the small light which nature had given them, thought these people were enslaving their understandings, and imagined their persons would share the same fate : — They acted accordingly ; and regardless of every other circumstance, favoured the French or the English, according as their interest led them ; and this generally, for the reasons we have given above, induced the Iroquois to take part with the latter.

Frontenac, who was obliged to be perpetually dissembling with the savages, had all along set his heart upon rebuilding the fort of Cataracuoy*, a plan

* All the force which Frontenac could muster up at this time did not amount to above two thousand men, even including the militia and the French savages ; so that he was obliged to act with great address in still keeping the Indians in awe, and yet which

which he was resolved to put in execution at all events. In the mean time some of the Abenaguais Indians, under the command of a famous chief, named Taxus, took an English fort, and carried on their ravages, while Phipps was flattering his people with the hopes of peace, even to the very gates of Boston; and this is said, by some of the French writers, so much to have exasperated the subjects of his government, that they rose against him, and obliged him to retire to fort Pemmaquid for safety.

In the latter end of the year, Iberville and Signy arrived at the River St. Therese in two ships,

amusing them so as to prevent their bringing into the field any great bodies of men, the consequence of which must have been fatal to the colony. As to the English, their fleet at Boston was in too bad a condition to undertake a naval expedition, and they could not act by land without the assistance of the Iroquois. Sir William Phipps, who remained still governor of New England, could do nothing but by the mere dint of power, of which he made but a poor use. Indeed, after building the fort of Pemmaquid, some of the Abenaguais had formally submitted themselves to the crown of England; but the tribes who came in were not of any great importance, and it is probable that even this partial submission could not have taken place, had not the government of New France depended so much on the affection of those savages, as to leave them unprotected; and many of their countrymen being prisoners at Boston, their deliverance was a strong motive for the submission of others. So different was the conduct of the two governors, and so many difficulties did Frontenac struggle through to keep up the reputation of his countrymen in these remoter parts.

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the Poli and the Salamander, where they debarked the day of their arrival; and, the following night, Fort Nelson, which commands the port of the same name, was invested on the land side by forty Canadians, and, on the twenty-eighth of October, the Salamander came to an anchor a mile above the fort, which was a very weak one, built of wood, and garrisoned by only fifty-three men, under the command of a trader who never had seen fire. Every thing being disposed for the siege, the governor was summoned to surrender the fort; and a capitulation was accordingly settled, by which the officers were to remain in the fort during the winter, with full security to their persons and effects, and, when the seas were open, to be carried to France, from whence they might pass over to England. When the French took possession of the fort, they found in it abundance of provision, of which they stood in great need; and had the two French officers arrived sooner before Fort Nelson, they would have gotten a great booty in skins and furs, which had some weeks before been sent off to England. The party which made this conquest, was attacked by the scurvy, which carried off many of them; but, in June, one hundred and fifty canoes, laden with furs, arrived at Fort Nelson, to which the French gave the name of Fort Bourbon, as an earnest of the vast advantage, of the trade they were likely to reap from that bay. But as their two ships were preparing to sail

with their cargoes, they were not only stopped by the ice ; but, upon a muster, it was found, that the crews of both were reduced to one hundred and fifteen men, many of whom were unserviceable through sickness and other causes, and the scurvy was daily gaining ground amongst them. At last, the season permitting them to sail, after a most tedious and dangerous voyage, they returned to France, which they reached on the ninth of October. La Ferret, with a garrison of sixty-eight Canadians, and six savages being left governor of the fortress they had taken.

The French governor informed his court of all that passed in Canada ; but they did not seem satisfied with the cautious councils he adopted ; nevertheless he went on in those measures which seemed best in his own eyes, paying little regard to what was said by such as he was convinced did not comprehend the extent of his designs.—All his officers opposed him in his plan of re-establishing Fort Cataracuoy, but in vain. Arriving at Montreal in July, he employed seven hundred men, to put it in execution, and got it completed within fifteen days ; and, soon after, understanding that a large body of Iroquois had appeared in the field, he took such measures for the defence of his people, as entirely disconcerted their designs. These savages afterwards marched towards the country of the Miamis, with intent either to force them to declare in their favour, or to drive them from their settlements ;

settlements ; but were attacked and defeated by their enemies, who were reinforced by M. Courtemanche and a body of Canadians ; and the French entered into a treaty with the savages of Michillimackinac *.

* A Huron captain, one Le Baron, but one of these Hurons who were irreconcilable to the French, was then at Michillimackinac, where he had prevailed with the Hurons of that post not to be so forward as the other savages there were in making war against the Iroquois. But all his exhortations were to no purpose, notwithstanding which, he acted with such impenetrable dissimulation, that when he went with the other deputies to compliment the governor-general, while he sent his son, with thirty warriors, all of them devoted to his service, to the country of the Tsonnonthoyans. There they concluded a treaty, in which the Outawas were comprehended, and which was so firmly made that Cadillac, even when it was discovered, could not break it, though he found means to delay for some time the execution of it on the part of the Outawas. The savages, even such of them as were most attached to the French in his district, had often complained to him of the dearth of the French commodities; and the necessity they were under, on that account, of trading with the English. Though Cadillac could give them no relief on that head, yet he advised the deputies, who were then going to treat with Frontenac, on another account, and of whom Le Baron was one, to present him with a belt of wampum, as an intimation that their countrymen expected that he would reduce the exorbitant price of the French merchandises. But when the savages came into Frontenac's presence, and presented their belt, they told him he had his choice of peace or war ; which last he must expect, if they were not gratified in their demands. The governor-general rejected the belt with great haughtiness, but at the same time he knew how to soften his refusal, by seeming to be sorry at the necessity he was under of chastising his children, and endeavouring to open their eyes to the

Sir William Phipps dying about this period, was succeeded in the government of New England, as we have already taken notice in the history of that province, by one Stoughton, during whose administration, many Abenauais Indians being taken prisoners, and some of them murdered at a conference, their countrymen took arms, and resolved to enter upon open hostilities against the English.

Frontenac had no sooner finished the construction of his fort, when he received express orders from the court of France, to proceed no farther in his design; but he had been expeditious enough to prevent its being frustrated, as he expected no less than such a blow from the malice and envy of his enemies. He thought fit, however, to send some account of the motives which had determined him to persist in his resolution; and they were such as did honour to his genius, and the soundness of

conduct of the Iroquois, which, he said, tended to their destruction, by detaching them from the French, that they might fall a more easy prey to the English. Le Baron being urged to speak, said he had nothing in charge from his countrymen, but to bear the sentiments of Ononthio, and to report them to his principals. But Frontenac gave him to understand that he was well acquainted with all his practices, and that he neither loved nor feared him. Upon this the Outawas, and the Nipissings, interposed, by saying, that they had no concern in any thing Le Baron might have done to displease him, and the latter declared, that they were satisfied to remain with the governor, till they should see the event of the war he had threatened.

his

his understanding in political matters * ; and in the latter end of the year, he communicated a plan for destroying the English fleet, and taking Boston, which had it been adopted by the French ministry, would, most probably have taken effect ; but it was rejected, on account of the wars in Europe, which occasioned them not to be able to turn their attention towards those which were carrying on by their colonies in the western world.

* “ I was pressed, said he, (in his memorial) to attack Onondago with all our troops, our inhabitants and allies ; and with drums beating ; but I did not think fit to comply : First, Because I had not a force sufficient for such an undertaking ; Secondly, Because, had I followed that advice, I should have left this province open to the incursions of the English, who might have attacked Montreal on the side of Chambly ; Thirdly, Because the undertaking itself was ridiculous, and could have ended only in burning a few huts ; for the savages, supposing them not to have had time to be assisted by the English, could have escaped with their families into the woods. The event of M. Denonville’s expedition against the Tsonnonthouans sufficiently justifies my observation, and proves that the burning one or two villages never can secure us from the incursions of the savages. The only way to humble them is by continuing to harass and alarm them by small parties, so as that they dare not stir abroad, which we shall be enabled to do by the re-establishment of Fort Frontenac, (meaning that of Cataraugus.) If his majesty shall next year think proper to attack the fort of Pemnaquid, it will give great encouragement to our savages in those parts. It is even to be wished, that such an expedition should be extended to the bombardment of Boston and New York, which, I think, is by no means impracticable, and would, by one blow, effectually finish the war in that country.”

The

The French having planned out several expeditions, were employed as usual in endeavouring to soothe and win over the savages, while M. Argenteuil, published at Michillimackinac, where Cadillac then was, a pompous account of the dispositions which his countrymen were making to attack the English and Iroquois, and hoped to have been joined by a large body of Outawas ; but in this he was disappointed. In the mean time Frontenac, who, at first, intended to have fallen upon the Onnondagans in the winter, was prevailed upon to defer his undertaking till the summer season. After many consultations, and some previous expeditions against the savages, the French being joined by their allies, on the seventh of July, began their march into the country of the Onnondagans and Onne-youths, which they ravaged with fire and sword *, and were proceeding to treat the canton of Goyoguin in the same manner, when Frontenac suddenly

* The rage of the French and their savages, in this ravaging expedition, went so far on this occasion, that a venerable Onnondagan, about one hundred years of age, and therefore unable to fly with the rest of his countrymen, falling into their hands, they made formal preparations to put him to death with the most excruciating torments, which he eyed with the most intrepid indifference, upbraiding the natives all the while with being slaves to the French, whom he spoke of with the utmost contempt. While some were endeavouring, either through compassion or rage, to put an end to his life ; “ You ought not, says he, to be in such haste to finish my torments, but give me longer time to teach you how to die like men ; for my part, I die contented, because I can reproach myself with no meanness.”

changed

changed his mind, and retreated with his army to Montreal, after an expedition, which was productive of little honour or profit, either to himself or to the interests of his countrymen; for, notwithstanding all the terrors of his arms, the Indians, who were more exasperated than chastised, came forth from their woods and fastnesses, and attacked the French with as much fury as ever; and the harvest not answering the expectations of the latter, they were threatened besides with an approaching famine.—

The English made restitution to the savages for the losses they sustained by the invasion of their country. The Agniers had sent deputies to Quebec, who behaved in a haughty manner; and Frontenac detained two of their countrymen at Quebec, whilst orders were sent to gain the best information of what was passing at New York; and in May, the savages of the Highlands offered their service to the governor at Montreal, but were ordered to remain in their own country.

At this time advice was received, that a squadron of ships was appointed to sail from England, to join another at Boston, in order to attack Canada, and that Fort Nelson was again reduced by the English *. The Iroquois, upon this, were encouraged to make irruptions as usual; —

* In the autumn, four English ships and a bomb-vessel had appeared in the road; the English cannonaded the fort, and had attempted to land, but were repulsed. But after this, the bomb-ketch

Iberville was ordered to retake this fort, and arrived at the mouth of Hudson's River, towards the end of July, which he took, but his ship the *Pelican*, was wrecked at the River St. Therese †.

The chief of the Onneyouths came at this time to Quebec with pacific propositions, the sincerity of which, however, Frontenac soon found occasion to suspect; for they appeared much sooner in the field than was expected, and renewed their inroads. — The Sioux and the Miamis were apprehensive lest the latter, who had already attacked a French fort, should join the Iroquois, and at length it was resolved to use every means of maintaining the posts of the River Michillimackinac, and St. Joseph, in order to establish a trade there with the natives.

The French now, being no longer in fear of an attack upon Canada, were busied in plotting the subversion of the British settlements; and the che-

played with so much success upon the fort, that it made a capitulation, which, according to the French, was soon after violated; but that account is not very probable.

* The terms of this capitulation were: First, That all his papers and books of accounts should be safe. Secondly, That his garrison, both officers and soldiers, should keep their chests, cloaths, and all that belonged to them. Thirdly, That they should be treated as well as the French themselves. Fourthly, That they should be sent directly to England. And lastly, That the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, without being disarmed. The garrison consisted of no more than fifty-two men, of whom seventeen had belonged to the Hudson's Bay, and had escaped from the *Pelican* when it was wrecked; but had the benefit of the capitulation.

valier

valier Nesmond, had orders to join with ten ships, the Rochfort squadron, who were to drive the English out of Newfoundland, and afterwards to attack Boston, and destroy all the British settlements between that and Piscataqua. At the same time Frontenac was empowered by the French court, to substitute Vaudreuil in his place, who, in that case, was to be subject to the orders of Nesmond; but if Frontenac commanded in person, he was to be independant.

Nesmond did not arrive at Placentia till towards the latter end of July, when a council of war being called, to deliberate whether the fleet should sail directly for Boston, it was carried in the negative. In the beginning of August it was resolved to make a descent upon St. John's, which the English were busied in fortifying, with a view, at the same time, of making prizes of thirty-four English vessels; but in this Nesmond was disappointed; he missed of the fleet, and was obliged to return, baffled in all his schemes, to Old France *.

* The French having taken Fort Pemmaquid, as has been mentioned in the History of New England, after levelling it with the ground, Iberville and Bonaventure, who commanded the expedition, espied an English squadron, as they were sailing out of the River Pemmaquid: but the French held so near the land, that the English ships durst not follow them, and they changed their course towards the River St. John, while Iberville arrived on the coast of Cape Breton. Here he put all the savages on shore, excepting three, who refused to leave him, but could not reach La Heve, where others were ready to embark with him for New-

As the island of Newfoundland was now divided between the English and the French, Iberville, at length, projected the total reduction of it, for which purpose he arrived there on the twenty-fourth of September, before which time, Brouillan, the governor, had set sail with eight St. Malo vessels, to attack Fort St. John ; but

foundland, and where, on the twelfth of August, he anchored in the road of Placentia. In the mean time, the English ships, which he had escaped, fell in with the chevalier de Villebon, who was returning with a company of savages to his fort of Naxoat, and made him prisoner. The English then continued their course to Beaubassin, where one Burgefs, who had an estate in those parts, presented the commodore with a writing, by which the inhabitants of Beaubassin, at the time that Acadia was conquered by Sir William Phipps, engaged themselves to be faithful to king William. At the same time, two hundred and fifty English and a hundred and fifty savages were put on shore. The commodore received Burgefs with great civilities, and the chief inhabitants of the place, who, though they were English subjects, had, in fact, revolted to the French, welcomed to shore the commodore and his chief officers, who were entertained at Burgefs's house. According to the French accounts, the commodore had promised full protection to the inhabitants, and had ordered the soldiers to take nothing in their quarters without payment, and to kill no cattle that were not immediately necessary for their subsistence; notwithstanding which, they were guilty of great irregularities. The squadron then proceeded towards the River St. John, where Villebon, who had obtained his freedom, by producing a sufficient pass, commanding again at Naxoat, they were discovered by an ensign of the fort, who was reconnoitring with three or four soldiers, and who, escaping through the woods, gave Villebon intelligence of their arrival. When the troops had advanced a little way on their voyage, they were met by an English frigate of thirty-two guns, quarrelling

quarrelling with the St. Malo men, he was obliged to return without being able to carry his design into execution, after having made himself master of Fort Forillon, the commander of which he made prisoner, with all his garrison. At Placentia he had some differences with Iberville, whose Canadians refusing to obey any other commands than those of that officer, threatened to return to Quebec: however, it was at length agreed, that they should proceed to attack Fort St. John in separate bodies, which they did, and took it, after having defeated several parties of the English, who were posted to oppose them. But, all things considered, this was no conquest to boast of, as the fortress was poorly defended, and the garrison in want of the very necessaries of life; nevertheless the French magnified it extremely, and bestowed the highest encomiums on their countrymen's valour upon this occasion.

and two sloops; and their commander produced an order for them to return and attack Fort Naxoat. It was the sixteenth of October, when Villebon, who imagined the English by that time had reached Boston, was informed of their return; and they besieged his fort; but were repulsed, and were obliged to give over their enterprize, and the siege was raised; yet Villebon could not persuade his savages to pursue them.

Fresh disputes arising amongst the victors concerning the manner of securing their conquest, a resolution was taken to abandon it, after setting fire to the fort, and all the adjacent houses, while two ships were allowed for carrying the garrison of the place to England. Brouillan and Du Muys returned to Placentia, whilst Iberville and his Canadians carried on the war till the English lost all their settlements in Newfoundland excepting those of Bonavista and the island of Carboniere, which were too strong to be taken by the enemy. After this, the French commander returned from this roving expedition to Placentia, where he long waited for succours from the mother-country which never arrived:—and thus concluded the enterprize.

Frontenac, in order to keep the savages in awe, kept on foot, all the spring, a large body of regulars, and ordered his Indian allies to hold themselves in readiness to march against the Iroquois; but this was never done; and the consequence was, that the former were reduced to great straits for want of subsistence, having neglected their hunting, in order to be ready at his call; so that the colonists were obliged to support them; and just at this time the French court prohibited the officers, soldiers, travellers, and rangers, from carrying on any commerce, an order which Frontenac thought proper to remonstrate against, but in vain. However, he afterwards took measures which rendered it
of

of as little effect as possible, as he knew the execution of it would considerably lessen both his power and profit.—It was about this period that the famous Indian chief known by the name of the Black Cauldron, with several of his followers, while they were treating of a peace, were set upon and murdered by a party of Algonquins; and soon after the French lost their old faithful ally Ourecouharé; he expired of a pleurisy, to the great grief of his European allies, who bestowed the highest eulogiums on his valour and fidelity.

In February, 1698, advice arrived in Canada, that the peace of Ryswick was concluded, which was confirmed, in May, by colonel Schuyler, who brought some French prisoners with him, and a letter from the earl of Bellamont, demanding the release of all the Indians as well as English, who were detained in Canada. But Frontenac evaded the sending back the former, though he consented to the release of the latter. In the mean time, he availed himself of the peace to win the Indians from their English friends: but after the death of Frontenac, which happened in the seventieth year of his age, the English interest prevailed more powerfully than before among the savages.

He was succeeded in the government of New France by De Callieres, a man of good understanding and much moderation; while the command of Montreal was given to Vaudreuil. The governor of New England had now brought a
claim

claim against some of the Abenaguais tribes, as if the Canibas, settled on Kenebek River, were the subjects of England. De Callieres had received orders to come to no conclusion in this matter, till the limits of North America should be settled; but he depended so much on his Indian friends, that he left them to negotiate the matter themselves with the English*.

The courts of France and England had now sent letters respectively to De Callieres, and the earl of Bellamont. His most christian majesty's came under cover to the earl, and was by him forwarded to Callieres, who, on the other hand, was honoured with the delivery of his Britannic majesty's letter, to the earl. The French governor having obtained a duplicate of the orders that nobleman received from his master, in which he was instructed to disarm the Iroquois, at the same

* The preliminaries they insisted upon with the English governor were: First, That he should order all the English to retire out of their country. Secondly, That he was not to pretend they owed any allegiance to the crown of England; because they professed themselves to be the voluntary and faithful subjects of his most christian majesty, from whom alone, and his generals, they were determined to receive orders. Thirdly, That they should be at liberty to permit the French, and no other nation, not even the English, to settle upon their lands. Fourthly, That as they heard, with some surprise, that the English governor intended to send amongst them other missionaries than French; they declared that they never would change their religion; for which they were resolved, if necessary, to fight and to die.

time

time that the chief officers in America were expressly forbidden to give them any assistance; and the Frenchman, therefore, artfully managed to disperse copies of this letter, among their cantons, soliciting them to live as subjects of his government. These savages, on the contrary, used all their art to preserve their freedom and independancy of both the English and the French, with each of whom they said they were, however, equally desirous of living in peace and friendship, ; and the consequence was, that neither nation chose to provoke them, lest they should declare for the other; a wise piece of policy in the Indians, who thereby maintained a superiority which they could never otherwise have hoped for.

On the eighteenth of July, 1700, two deputies from Onnondago and Tsonnonthouan had an audience of the governor, saying that they had powers of deputation from the four upper cantons, and that the reason why no deputies came from the Onneyouths and Goyoguins was, that they were gone to New England to enquire why Schuyler had been sent from thence to dissuade them from going to Montreal, complaining at the same time, that while they depended on the faith of treaties, they had been attacked by the Outawas and other Indian tribes; and they begged that father Bruyas, Maricourt, and Joncaire might be sent with them, to whom they promised to deliver up all their French prisoners.

The

The French governor expressed his surprise that the deputies of the Goyogouins and the Onneyouths, instead of coming along with their brethren, should wait upon the English governor about a point that could require no farther explanation, after the conclusion of the treaty between the French and the English. He added, that what they had suffered was owing to themselves, having at first attacked the Miamis, and having so long trifled with him in the affair of the peace, and that he had done all he could with his allies to prevent hostilities during the negotiations. That he was sorry for what had happened, but that, to prevent the like accidents in time to come, he had ordered all his allies to send their deputies within thirty days to treat; and that if they (the Iroquois) were sincerely inclined to peace they would likewise order deputies from all their cantons to be present. That in such a case, all the war kettles should be overthrown; the great tree of peace established, the rivers cleaned, the roads made strait, and that every one then might go and return as he thought proper. As to the missionary, and the two officers they required, he consented to their going along with them, but upon condition that they should bring back with them deputies furnished with full powers to conclude a durable peace; and that upon their arrival at Montreal, all the Iroquois prisoners should be set at liberty; but that some of the deputies there present, should remain as hostages with

with the three persons who were to go along with the others. Upon this, four of the deputies offered to become hostages; and being accepted of, the rest of the audience departed in good humour.

When the French ambassadors arrived among the Indians, they were received with all demonstrations of joy: but the second day they met in council, a young Englishman appeared, who told them, that the earl of Bellamont desired them to be on their guard against the practices of the French, and said, that his lordship expected to meet them within twelve days at Orange, where they should be made acquainted with his farther pleasure. But the haughty style of this message was rather detrimental to the English; and the French failed not to expatiate on this circumstance, and to turn it to their own advantage, while Joncaire, who was adopted by the Tsonnonthouans, set out for their canton, and was received there with the warmest affection *.

* His business was to reclaim the French prisoners who were there, and whose liberty was immediately granted them. What followed, was somewhat extraordinary. Most, or all, of those prisoners had been adopted likewise; and the life of a savage was, in their eyes, so much preferable to that of a French Canadian, that they refused to return to their country. This circumstance may be thus accounted for. Amongst the savages, they enjoyed in full extent, not only that freedom, which they could not find under French government; but, if they were industrious, more abundance; because, what they acquired

In the mean time the general council of the Iroquois were again assembled at Onnondago; and the young Englishman, whom we have mentioned, was present at it, and was told by the Indians, in their phrase, that they would first plant the tree of peace at Quebec with their father Ononthio, and then repair to Orange, to learn the will of the earl of Bellamont.

The deputies of the cantons returned to Montreal, having been joined by Joncaire, with six Tsonnonthouan deputies, and three French prisoners. Whilst these were on their journey, they learned by a Tsonnonthouan from Orange, that the governor of New York had taken so much umbrage at the proceedings of the Iroquois, that they had put an Onneyouth in irons, on a suspicion of having killed an Englishman, with several other alarming circumstances. The Iroquois, by their deputies, greatly magnified the civilities they had paid to the French ambassadors, and said, that for the sake of their countrymen, their cantons would probably be involved in a war with the English. — Callieres gave them till August in the succeeding year, to release the prisoners of France

by hunting and sowing was their own, without paying taxes or imposts; and the civil and military duties amongst the French, were besides more irksome and laborious than amongst the savages. Some of those captives, therefore, rather than they would follow Joncaire, concealed themselves, while others plainly told him, they would remain with the Indians.

and

and her allies, yet remaining in their hands, exhorting them to revenge no private quarrels among themselves, but to refer them all to his particular determination. The assembly approved of his proposals, and a treaty was accordingly agreed upon*.

Callieres, in the mean time, gave all the intelligence he could to Ponchartrain, of the state of affairs in Canada, and intimated such measures as he thought it would be most advantageous for the French in those parts to pursue : but as to the earl of Bellamont, if we may believe the French writers, he behaved, at this period, with so little policy and so much haughtiness, as contributed very much to alienate the affections of the savages from him and from his government. If we may give credit to Charlevoix, he proposed to build forts in the cantons of Agnier, Onneyouth, and Onnondago, and even went so far, as to demand that the Iroquois should hang up all the Jesuit missionaries who came

* The manner in which this treaty was signed, is said to have been very particular. After Callieres and his officers, civil and military, with the ecclesiastics, had put their hands to it, each of the savage nations signed it with a particular figure peculiar to themselves. The Onnondagans and Tsonnonthouans, delineated a spider ; the Goyogouins, a calumet, or pipe of peace ; the Onneyouths, a piece of cleft wood with a stone in it ; the Agniers, a bear ; the Hurons, a beaver ; the Abenauais, a kid ; and the Outawas, a hare ; and the treaty was dated the eighth of September, in the year 1700.

among them. A proposal so shocking, was, however, so little relished by those Indians, that his lordship was obliged to drop it, and to sustain all the blame of the design without having the satisfaction of seeing it put in execution.

One Riverin, who had formerly endeavoured to establish a fishery at Mount Lewis, about this time, made a second attempt of the same nature, but it was defeated by the villainy of those he was connected with, while the English saw themselves more successful in their undertakings of the same nature, and continued to carry on an advantageous fishery upon the coasts of Acadia, in spite of all the claims and opposition of their neighbours *.

* It appears as if the French court had grown indifferent towards that colony. A relation of one Le Bourgne, in right of his predecessors of that name, claimed the property of all the peninsula of Acadia, reaching from cape Les Mines towards L'Isle Verte to the west; and, in consequence of this claim; the English, notwithstanding the peace, continued still to trade upon the coast of Acadia, on pretence of being authorised by Le Bourgne, to whom they paid fifty crowns for each ship. Villebon had indeed erected Fort De Naxoat on the River St. John; but receiving no assistance from France, it was of very little use. He continued, however, to make such representations to the French court, that an engineer was sent over, by whose advice, in the year 1700, the inhabitants of Naxoat were transported to Port Royale, No care, however, being taken to fortify that settlement, or any parts of the coasts of Acadia, the English still went on to engross the fishing trade there, and are charged by their enemies, with the same practices which they, on the contrary, have been charged with by the English.

Villebon

Villebon dying, was succeeded by De Brouillan, in the government of Acadia, who found the province in a very poor situation, the New England-men having ravaged the coasts, and driven the inhabitants into the woods, or thrown them into prisons, from whence they were perpetually sending complaints of the ill treatment they received. De Callieres still continued to endeavour an union among the Indian nations, and a general peace; but some differences arising between the Outawas and the Iroquois, rendered this very difficult; the latter likewise made some complaints concerning a settlement they found the French were making, between Lake Huron and Lake Erie, called by the French name of Detroit, and demanded also to know, whether there were at that time any likelihood of a war breaking out between France and England; but, after all, it does not seem that they obtained a satisfactory answer to their demands. It appeared, however, during this conference, that the earl of Bellamont had entertained thoughts of building a fort at the same place, a circumstance which failed not to render the French governor extremely obliging to the deputies, whom he treated with the greatest respect, promising every thing on his own part, and that of his countrymen. — With these, on their return, the three former French ambassadors were sent, who were not a little surprised to see several Englishmen

men mingled with the savages who came to meet them *.

Being conducted into the principal village, they exhorted the Indians to send their deputies to the general congress to treat of peace ; and these answered, " That they would send five to Montreuil, " and afterwards two to Orange, and that no- " thing was more agreeable to them, than to con- " clude a treaty, and live in peace, both with the " French and English."

Courtemanche, who with father Anjelran, had been sent to Michillimackinac, there found the Miamis, the Outagamis, and several other nations who were going to war with the Iroquois ; but these he appeased, and persuaded them to send their deputies to the appointed meeting, as he likewise did the Mahingans, when he arrived in their country, and several other of the remoter cantons. On the second of July, he returned to Michillimackinac, where his colleague Anjelran, having settled all things, they set out for Montreal with near seven hundred savages ; and, where arriving on the twenty-second of the same month, they were received with great joy by the governor, who took care, however, to sound the deputies before he invited them to meet in the congress,

* These were probably some of the retinue of an Englishman, who was sent by lord Bellamont, to dissuade the savages from repairing to the August congress with the French.

which

which was carried on with all the usual ceremonies, and in which the Rat was particularly useful to the French, but most unluckily, he was taken extremely ill at this juncture. However, he was so earnest in the cause, that finding a little temporary relief, he suffered himself to be placed in an elbow chair, from whence he harangued the assembly for the last time, and died soon after the breaking up of the assembly *.

The Iroquois having complained that they were distressed in the affair of their prisoners, promised that if the governor would restore them their countrymen, he should have no reason to repent his confidence. This Callieres laid before the deputies, and it being agreed to, he trusted them, and had no reason to repent he did so, in the sequel.

An epidemical distemper having now broken out among the savages, the governor hastened the conclusion of the treaty as much as possible; and it was determined that it should be signed upon the first of August. For this purpose, a theatre of

* The French extol this chief as an ornament to human nature, and superior in wit even to the French themselves. At the time of his death, he had the rank and pay of a captain in the French army, and therefore received a noble military funeral, at which the governor-general and all the chief officers assisted. Joncaire on this occasion covered him, (that is, made presents to his nation on account of his death) at the head of sixty warriors of the fall of St. Lewis. — The inscription upon his tomb-stone was, "Here lies the Rat, a Huron chief."

one hundred and twenty-eight feet long, and seventy-two broad, was erected on a plain without Montreal. At the end of this theatre was raised a large box for the ladies, and all the people of fashion in that city. De Callieres was attended by Vaudreuil, and all his principal officers ; and thirteen hundred savages were seated in order, within the rails of the theatre, which were surrounded by soldiers under arms. The meeting was opened with a speech made by Callieres, upon the benefits of peace, and of their being under the protection of their father the great Ononchio ; and his words were repeated to the several nations by proper interpreters, and received with the highest acclamations. This being finished, each chief received a belt of wampum, and rising, one after another, they marched gravely up in their long fur robes to the governor-general, and each presented him with his prisoners, and a belt. Callieres received each in the most gracious manner, and consigned the prisoners, as he received them, to the Iroquois. The finery of the savages, their different manners of address, the oddities of their devices in their attire, and the whimsical state they assumed when they spoke to the governor, formed one of the strangest scenes imaginable. The treaty of peace was then signed by thirty-eight deputies, but with other devices than those they made use of when they signed the former treaty. They brought at the same time, the great pipe of peace, out of which the
governor-

governor-general smoked first, the intendant after him, and then Vaudreuil, and lastly, all their chiefs and deputies, each in his turn. After this, *Te Deum* was sung, and then the great kettles being produced, in which thirty oxen had been boiled, the meat was served up to each with great order and decorum, and the whole ceremony was concluded by discharges of artillery, and other marks of joy and festivity.

In the year 1752, the Iroquois sent deputies to Callieres, to thank him for having given them peace, and even requested him to send missionaries into their country. These, at the same time, informed him of the death of Garakonthie, whose nephew proffered to supply his kinsman's place, and was kindly received by the governor, who immediately sent some Jesuits among the savages, who never failed to be useful to him on those occasions, in a double capacity.

The French government now assured Callieres, that Acadia should be well peopled and fortified, to which there was now the greater necessity, as war was by this time declared between France and England. Yet it does not seem that the former were so very solicitous to perform their promises, as in good policy they ought to have been: — The Iroquois saw daily the weakness of their new allies, and according to their usual custom of changing, renewed their intrigues with the English. They were obliged on many accounts to trade with

the English, and therefore found themselves more and more inclined to join their interests and come into their views, which all the wisdom and good management of Callieres, could not effectually prevent ; and he died in the midst of his preparations, to put the colony on a more respectable footing, in May 1700, and was, of course, succeeded by Vaudreuil, who was then governor of Montreal, till the king's pleasure should be known, and who in the end, confirmed him in his command, to the universal satisfaction of the Canadians, in Champigny, the late intendant having returned to France.

The new governor took all imaginable precautions to conciliate the affections of the Indians ; and he began, by endeavouring to make sure of the Tsonnonthouans, who, if we may believe the French writers, made a formal cession of their country to them ; but either this was not true, or else it was only done by the Indians to serve their present purposes, though it was often afterwards insisted upon by their allies in a very strenuous manner, — and was, perhaps, often urged, merely to lengthen out disputes between the two nations, which nothing but the conquest and cession of Canada in our favour could have been sufficient to put an end to.—

Many skirmishes happened at this time between the people of Boston and the Abenaquais Indians, a party of whom the French had engaged in their service,

service, and who, after having made several depredations upon the New England settlers, were, at length, visited by them in their turn, and obliged to apply to Vaudreuil to send De Rouville to assist them, who is said to have killed and taken prisoners a number of the enemy.

But by this time, the Hurons of Michillimackinac, headed by a chief, nick-named Forty-Pence, who was a great favourer of the English, who went to visit Detroit, began to make some dispositions, which gave Vaudreuil uneasiness. The Outawas and Miamis likewise murmured, because they wanted to renew the war against the Iroquois, whom they attacked under the very cannon of Cataracuo. — In the mean time the English had called a general assembly of the Iroquois at Onondago, where these points were agreed upon: First, That the cantons should banish all the missionaries. Secondly, That the Abenaguais should be obliged to discontinue their hostilities. Thirdly, That the Mahingans, who had for some time been settled in the country of the Agniers, should be obliged to return to their former habitations near Orange. And, fourthly, That a free passage should be given through their cantons for the upper savages to trade with the English. And, besides this, Detroit Fort set on fire by some of the savages in the neighbourhood, whilst others repaired to New York, and were afterwards present at the assembly, held at Orange, whither Vau-

dreuil having persuaded the Tsonnonthouans and Onondagans, to send their deputies, who were in the French interest, and who introduced the Baron De Longrieve, brother of Maricourt there, and Joncaire, and father Vaillant, were admitted also, notwithstanding all that charter could do to hinder them. The event was, that the assembly broke up without coming to any resolution.

Some of the Abenauais tribes being surrounded by the English, and in danger of perishing, accepted of a proposal of the French, to settle them on the River Bekancourt, where they served as a barrier against the Iroquois, whom, notwithstanding, Vaudreuil found himself obliged to use every method in his power, to keep in good humour, and to this end, some differences between them and the Outawas soon after contributed *.

The English in 1704, undertook an expedition against Port Royale, in which they met with a repulse, chiefly occasioned by their own mismanage-

* The chief of the Outawas party, which had attacked the Iroquois under Fort Cataracuoy, in his return to his own country, passed near Fort Detroit, where he displayed the trophies of his victory, and summoned all the Outawas settled there to join him. Fonti, who commanded there in the absence of La Motte Cadillac, to chastise this gross insult, ordered an officer with twenty men to attack the barbarians, who, though they were supported by their countrymen at Detroit, were put to flight, and obliged to leave behind them all their prisoners, who were immediately delivered back to the Tsonnonthouans. A circumstance which did great service at that time to the French interests in Canada.

ment and the differences which unhappily subsisted between their land and sea-officers. The troops they landed, after having fallen into several ambuscades, and being repeatedly obliged to retreat, re-embarked on the twenty-first of July, with about fifty prisoners. De Brouill dying, was now succeeded by M. Subercase, a good officer, who had formerly done much mischief to the English; and who improved as much as possible the friendship of the Abenaguais Indians. — At length, however, the New England governor planned out an expedition for the total expulsion of the French from Canada, in which two regiments of militia, under the command of colonel March, were employed. Subercase had placed fifteen men in a watch tower, which commanded the narrow entrance of the bay of Port Royale, who retreated to the forts, and alarmed the garrison on the approach of the English, who immediately after came to an anchor within half a league of the place. But their forces being landed, fell into ambuscades in the woods, which greatly disheartened them; a convoy of six hundred men with live stock were also defeated, and forced to retire to their camp. All this while the fort had been put in so good a posture of defence, that an attempt the English made to storm it miscarried; and though they completely invested the place, the shew of defence which the governor made, struck them with such a terror, that every step they advanced, they expected

pected some hidden mine would be sprung to destroy them. The panic spread from man to man, and after having in vain endeavoured to destroy some French vessels under the cannon of the fort, they re-embarked, and on their return to Boston, were but ill received by the inhabitants there, who thought themselves sure of the reduction of the place, and threw much blame upon colonel March, whom the governor and council however acquitted from any charge of misbehaviour, and afterwards confirming him in his command, reinforced him with about six hundred men, with orders to renew his attempt upon Port Royale. He did so, but with as little success as formerly ; and after falling, as before, into the ambuscades of the enemy, were forced to abandon the enterprize, and re-embark with precipitation, after having narrowly escaped being attacked in their very trenches by the enemy.

Meanwhile one Le Grange having taken an English vessel at Bonavista in Newfoundland, (though he was afterwards himself made prisoner by the English) his success, and some other circumstances, encouraged M. Subercase to resume the old plan of driving the English from all their settlements in those parts. — L'Epinaÿ, commander of the *Wasp*, had orders to take a hundred Canadians on board, and to carry them to Placentia, under the command of twelve officers, among whom was M. De Montigny : and in 1705, Subercase

bercase, set out from Placentia with four hundred and fifty men, and marched to Little Harbour, an English port, within nine miles of St. John's; and being arrived there, attacked the strongest forts there, but were repulsed, and failed in their attempt, and were contented with ravaging the English settlements; after this they destroyed Forillon, and made all the inhabitants prisoners, and from thence spread their depredations all over the coasts as far as Bonavista, to the great detriment of the English settlers in those parts.

The Tsonnonthowans were now instigated by Schuyler, the governor of New Orange, to demand a reparation for their deed, notwithstanding they had recovered their prisoners from the Outawas, who in their turn were clamorous for war; and it required the greatest exertion of Vaudreuil's abilities, to bring about a reconciliation between them, which, however, he at last effected, and sent home their deputies, who met at Montreal, to all appearance, in tranquillity and peace.

But now fresh disturbances broke out between the Miamis and the Outawas, a party of the former having killed the latter, for whose death they refused to give any satisfaction. Cadillac was applied to in this matter, who soon after having occasion to go to Quebec, told the Outawas at parting, that as long as his wife should remain at Detroit they need fear nothing. The consequence of which was; that when, about two months after,
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the departed, the savages concluded that their destruction was determined upon, in return for the hostilities they had committed against the Iroquois. Several circumstances concurred to confirm them in their suspicions, and being engaged by Cadillac's lieutenant, together with the Hurons, the Miamis, and the Iroquois, to go on an expedition against the Sioux; though they appeared to consent, yet they thought there was a plan laid by the latter to destroy them on their march. And in consequence, they assembled, in all appearance, to begin their route, but soon turning back, fell upon the Miamis, and put five of them to death, (though without intent to do any violence to the French. But the remains of the Miamis taking shelter in the fort, which immediately fired upon them, two Frenchmen, (the one a Recollect) fell in the engagement. On this the fort shut its gates, and thirty of the Outawas were killed on the spot; while the rest retired to their settlements.

This affair greatly perplexed Vaudreuil, and the more so, as the Iroquois declared themselves ready to make war upon the Outawas, and required him to withdraw his protection from them. But in June, 1707, a deputation came conducted by John the White, who had been very busy in the affair of Detroit, and made an apology for what had passed. Vaudreuil referred them to Cadillac, by whom he said he would signify his pleasure, and
commanded

commanded them in every thing to obey his injunctions.

This officer demanded Pefant, who was the author of the massacre ; and he accordingly was put into his hands, but whom he, perhaps, somewhat injudiciously pardoned, at the request of his countrymen, who interceded for him on their knees. The Miamis disappointed in their revenge, reproached Cadillac with the breach of promise. Cadillac had recalled the missionary Aveneau from their settlement, on the River St. Joseph, about one hundred leagues from Detroit, not chusing that a Jesuit should have so much influence with so distant a nation. After this, these Indians were loud in demanding justice upon Pefant ; and, at length, not finding themselves regarded, they killed three Frenchmen, and committed several depredations about Detroit, for which Cadillac was preparing to take revenge upon them, when he was intimidated from his purpose, by receiving advice that some of the Hurons and Iroquois had joined in a conspiracy to massacre all the French in that neighbourhood ; on which he thought proper to conclude a peace with the Indians, who, on their part, observed it so ill, that the French commander was obliged to put himself at the head of a large party of men, and force them to sue for peace, which was granted, and the missionaries sent back along with them, in order to reconcile them more effectually to the French interests.

While Joncaire was busily employed among the Iroquois cantons, whose language he spoke fluently, Schuyler, was no less active in affairs of the same kind amongst the christian Iroquois, who had likewise been, for a long time past, furnished with strong liquors by the English, notwithstanding the express orders they had received to the contrary.

At this time, a plan against New England, was formed in a full council at Montreal, at which the chiefs of the christian savages were present, where the proper dispositions were made, and the armament, consisting of about four hundred men, were to take the route of lake Champlain, where they were to be joined by the neighbouring savages of Acadia. On the twenty-sixth of July, these began their march; but when Chabons and Rouille, who commanded the French troops, came to the River St. Francis, they received advice that the Hurons were struck with a superstitious panic, and had withdrawn themselves, upon which the Iroquois, commanded by M. Perriere, under pretence of a contagious distemper having broke out amongst them, followed their example. Yet the expedition was ordered to proceed, even though they should be abandoned by all the rest of their Indian allies; which, however, was not the case; for these remained faithful, and, in concert with the French, took the village of Haverhill, which was garrisoned by thirty soldiers,
took

took it, burned the houses and in them a number of English, besides a hundred whom they put to the sword.—They had afterwards another engagement with the English, in which, according to their own accounts, they performed wonders, and returned to Montreal with some prisoners, with the loss of five Frenchmen and three Indians, and about eighteen persons wounded; but brought off no plunder: the reason they gave for it was, that they thought not of the spoils till they were involved in the flames themselves had kindled.—Perhaps we may venture to question the validity of this argument; but we give it only upon the authority of the French, who do not always strictly adhere to truth, in their relations.

The savages, of whose desertion Vaudreuil affected a supreme contempt, were so much wrought upon by his conduct that, notwithstanding Schuyler had endeavoured to win them over to his party, they of themselves took arms, and ravaged all the neighbouring settlements of the English. The French governor complained, that the English tampered with the Indians, whilst, on his part, he said he was willing to grant a neutrality for New York. In answer to this, Schuyler plainly told him, that he corresponded with the savages only to induce them to remain neuter, and to prevent their committing such barbarities in their wars as were shocking even to think on;—and it seems the English were of opinion that those

Indians, who were made proselytes to the catholic religion, were rather the worse than the better for their conversion, and committed more cruelties than even the heathen savages themselves. — On the whole, it may not be amiss to observe, that religious opinions (merely as such) seldom operate so strongly on mens minds as to influence their conduct in life, unless, when the moral virtues are properly enforced both by precept and example; a point in which it is more than probable that the missionaries were remiss, as they attended more to the mysteries and ceremonials of religion than to those essentials, which alone could conduce to amend the heart, and to enlighten the understanding.

The French, who always perceived the importance of Newfoundland, were now put in possession of its best forts, by an adventurer of the name of St. Ovide, a lieutenant of Placentia, and kinsman to Brouillan, who, with about one hundred and fifty men took and demolished St. John's*; and immediately dispatched an account

* They arrived on the last of December, within five leagues of St. John's, without being discovered; and the commandant advancing within three hundred feet of the first pallisade he was to attack, though some shot were fired at him, pushing forward, he entered by the gate which had been left open, and calling out *Vive le Roy!* the English were so much dispirited, that he and his friends had time to fix their scaling ladders to the main body of the place; which they mounted, and became masters of, after a very faint resistance on the part of the English, who begged for
to

to Costebelle (who had lent him a party of men) of his good success; in consequence of which, to his no great satisfaction, he received orders to dismantle the forts and return to Europe.

Vaudreuil, before the news of this success of St. Ovide arrived, had been repeatedly alarmed by accounts of the vast preparations which the English were said to be making against Canada; and this proved no vain surmise; for there was soon a certainty that two thousand English and as many Indians were destined to attack Montreal; their rendezvous being fixed at Chicot, about six miles from Lake Champlain; from whence they were to fall down in boats to Lake Chambly; and some time after Vaudreuil, when he found they were upon their march, detached Ramezay, who had before offered his service for that purpose with one thousand four hundred militia and one hundred regulars to meet them. After this party had

quarter; so that in less than half an hour the English governor of Fort William being wounded they took possession of both forts. This was the more extraordinary, as one of them mounted eighteen pieces of cannon and four mortars, besides other artillery, and had a garrison of one hundred men under a good officer. In the other fort were six hundred inhabitants; but according to the French accounts, they could not force open the door of a subterraneous passage, which communicated with the first fort, time enough to come to the assistance of the garrison there. A third fortress, which was likewise well provided with artillery, and a garrison lying on the other side of the harbour, surrendered upon being summoned.

marched

marched forty leagues in three days, the savages upon some false reports refused to advance any farther. -- Ramezay would still have proceeded, but that he feared to be abandoned by his own officers, and therefore reluctantly retreated. Retiring, he received intelligence that above two thousand men had been detached by the English to build a fort at the extremity of Lake Sacrament, and that six hundred of them and their allies had been sent to take post at Lake Champlain, whither Vaudreuil repaired with a large body of troops; but waited a long time without seeing any traces of the enemy.

In the mean time the Iroquois began to shew that they were not sincere in their professions to the English, and perceiving that the latter assembled a very powerful army, they thought of nothing but how to destroy it, as a method to secure their own freedom and independancy *. By their means,

* Charlevoix says, that the Iroquois, to compass this end, threw the skins of all the creatures they killed in hunting into the river on which the English lay, a little above the place of their own encampment, which infected the water so much that above a thousand English died of drinking it. But this seems to be a romantic account, and it is more likely, that natural diseases concurring with the misunderstandings subsisting between the English and their Indian allies, their own disappointments, the exaggerated accounts they received of the numbers of the enemy, and several similar circumstances determined them to retreat and abandon an enterprise, in which they had lost all hopes of success.

and

and some other accidents which took their rise from natural causes, the army returned to New York, having been disappointed of the assistance of their fleet, which was destined to be employed in Portugal: and thus Canada was once more delivered.—

At this time the Onnondagans and Agniers sent deputations to Vaudreuil, who gladly received them into favour; and they promised, in their phrase, that they never more would take up the hatchet against the French.

Meanwhile, M. Mantet had attempted, with a party from Canada, to make a conquest of Fort St. Anne, in Hudson's Bay; but he fell in the attempt, his misfortune being chiefly owing to the cowardice of his troops and the precipitancy of his attack. The successes of the French in Newfoundland had, however, more than made amends for such checks; encouraged by which, M. Costebelle laid down a scheme for reducing Carboniere, the only settlement of any consequence there which remained to the English. He expected re-inforcements from France; but as they did not arrive in time, he resolved on the attempt with what troops he had, dividing them into two bodies, the one of which was to proceed by land, and the other to embark on board two sloops. These under the command of Bertrand, a Placentian, arrived in Trinity Bay, where they took an English frigate carrying thirty guns and one hundred and thirty men,

men, but Bertrand was killed in the engagement, which so much disheartened the victors, that, on seeing two pirate vessels, they abandoned their prize and made all possible speed to get clear out of the harbour. In the mean time, the land force perceiving there was no likelihood of being supported by the sloops, contented themselves with falling upon the houses of the inhabitants, and then retired to Placentia.

In the summer of 1710, the English had resolved upon the reduction of Acadia, to which purpose, vast preparations were made; and, in July, general Nicholson arrived at Boston with several officers and colonel Reading's Marines. All the governments of New England were to assist him in the expedition; and adjutant general Vetch was joined with him in command. Port Royal was closely blocked up in August, in the middle of September, the whole armament sailed from Boston, and on the fifth day of October, the fleet cast anchor before the fort*, the governor of which, as well as the garrison, which consisted of only two hundred men, were disposed to think

* It consisted of the Dragon, Falmouth, Leostaff, and Feverham men of war, the Star bomb, and the Massachusetts province-galley, with transports, in all thirty-six sail; the land forces on board, were, one regiment of marines from England, two regiments of Massachusetts Bay, one regiment of Connecticut, and one regiment of New Hampshire and Rhode Island; and the English force consisted of three thousand four hundred men, exclusive of officers and sailors.

themselves

themselves abandoned. He made a show of defence as the English advanced, who were obliged to withdraw from the fire of his artillery; then the cannonade continued on both sides, and an English fire-ship blew up in entering the harbour. The fort was afterwards bombarded with little effect; but as it was not in a defensible situation, a council of war being called, a capitulation was at length agreed upon*, and the name of Port Royale

* The garrison were allowed to march out with six cannon and two mortars; but the inhabitants having driven away all the cattle, Subercase could only retain one mortar, and was obliged to sell the rest to Nicholson for about three hundred and fifty pounds sterling. According to the English accounts, the garrison consisted of two hundred and fifty-eight soldiers, with their officers and other inhabitants; in all, four hundred and eighty-one persons, male and female. But the French historian says, that they consisted of only one hundred and fifty-six men. These were sent to Rochelle in France, but were replaced by two hundred English marines, and two hundred and fifty New England volunteers.—But some disputes between Nicholson and Subercase afterwards happened with regard to the capitulation. Livingston insisting that all the country, except that part which was within reach of the Port Royale artillery, was excluded from any advantage of the capitulation; and that the rest of the province, with its inhabitants, was at the discretion of the English. He also added great complaints upon the cruelties of the French savages, and threatened, that, if they should continue to exercise their barbarities on the subjects of Great Britain, reprisals would be made on the French inhabitants of Acadia; and then he proposed an exchange of prisoners. Vaudreuil on his part, laid all upon his Indian allies, and appealed to the good treatment which the English captives had always met with from the French,

was changed into that of Annapolis, in compliment to the queen, under whose auspices the place was taken.

Vaudreuil, in August 1711, received advice, that a party of savages having defeated a numerous body of English, had, in concert with some Frenchmen, invested their new conquest, the fort of Port Royal, where many of the garrison had died during the winter season. Upon this, two hundred men were dispatched to assist at the siege, under the marquis D'Alogniers; but intelligence arriving that the English were making preparations against Quebec, the design was laid aside.—The French missionaries however, in the interim, had worked so effectually upon the Indians, that they still continued to act against the English, and having cut off a party of sixty persons (sent to burn the houses of such of the inhabitants of the country, as would not acknowledge themselves subjects of the crown of England) three hundred of them actually invested the fort, and the place would, in all probability, have fallen into their hands, if they had had

and imputed all the miseries that had happened, in the course of the war, to the English having formerly rejected a proposal for a neutrality between the subjects of the two nations in America. Livingston had threatened that a number of French prisoners equal to those of the English, should be put into the hands of the English Indians; and Vaudreuil threatened, in that case, to do the same by putting his English prisoners into the hands of the French savages.

a proper

a proper officer to command the siege; for want of which convenience they quitted their design; but still continued to harraß the English, and seemed determined to pursue them with the most inveterate hatred.

At New York the most vigorous dispositions were now making for war, and Vaudreuil, on his part, spared no pains to secure the affections of the Indians, and to put Quebec in a proper state of defence, executing every duty of a valiant and a prudent commander. Beaucourt, his engineer, had put the fortifications into excellent order; they had provisions sufficient for holding out a long siege, and all the garrison were determined to defend the place even to the last extremity.—On the twenty-fifth of September, advice was received of the appearance of ninety-six English vessels; but some days after the news of their return arrived, to the great joy of the governor and the whole colony.

* The reasons for their retreat and the conduct of the whole expedition has been already related under the section of New England, to which we refer the reader.—It was reported that the fleet had been shipwrecked near the Seven Islands in the River St. Laurence; upon which Vaudreuil sent thither some vessels, who found the hulks of seven or eight large ships, but with all their guns and furniture taken out, and printed copies of a manifesto, that general Hill was to have distributed amongst the inhabitants of Canada.—It is remarkable, that though six hundred Iroquois had joined colonel Nicholson, yet these had left him, even before they heard of his misfortune, and the return of the English fleet.

We have already taken notice, that after the design upon Quebec was found impracticable, it was debated in a council of war, whether the English should attack Placentia, and this was carried in the negative, on account of the scarcity of their provisions, and for other reasons we have already set down. The whole armament therefore returned, after having sent word to colonel Nicholson, to desist from his expedition against Montreal. And this was all that the English effected by these mighty preparations.

The first intent of the English was to take Quebec; the second, Placentia; the conquest of which by the people of England was deemed, of the two, to be both the most practicable and profitable for them. When the English fleet was under sail for Quebec, it intercepted a packet from Costebelle to Pontchartrain, complaining of the dismal state of Placentia, and of the French in general in Newfoundland, wherein he said, he could not muster a hundred men in all the island. It is said also, that when the English returned to Spanish Bay, they had on board above seven hundred and fifty men; and, though their provisions could not have lasted for above ten weeks, the conquest of Placentia would not have cost them above three days. But, when a council of war was summoned, as if the members of it had been more than infatuated, they not only voted against any attempt being

being made upon Placentia, but that Nicholson should be ordered to desist in his expedition by land, which, as we have observed, came to nothing. All the advantage the English derived from this expensive expedition was the preservation of their new conquest of Port Royale in Acadia, the recovery of which became now to be a very serious consideration with the French ministry. Pontchartrain again pressed Vaudreuil to undertake it with what force he could raise in New France; and the latter, to shew his zeal, had nominated the marquis D'Alogniers to the command of some troops, who were to assist the savages and the French of Acadia in a kind of blockade, they had formed of Port Royale, but, upon the news of the English invasion, he was recalled from that place.

The merchants of Quebec, in 1712, raised the sum of fifty thousand crowns for completing the fortifications of that city. The late miscarriage of the English, had now rendered the French more respectable in the eyes of the savages. The deputies of the Iroquois now made the most sincere professions of their attachment to the French; and Vaudreuil answered them with a tone of authority; but, before he dismissed them, gave them considerable presents. It was about this time, that the Outagamis, who, for twenty-five years, had scarcely been heard of, began to make a great figure in North America. They were accounted to be more fierce, resolute, and vindictive, than even the most
savage

savage of the Iroquois; and, by mingling with them, they had come over to the interest of the English, whom they promised to surprise Fort Detroit, and to put it into their hands. With this view, they lay very near the place, and omitted no opportunity of insulting the garrison, which was commanded by one Du Buiffon. The Kicapous and the Mascontins were joined with them in the same design, which was discovered to Du Buiffon, by one Joseph, a christian Outagamis, who informed him that they were farther exasperated by their receiving intelligence that one hundred and fifty Mascontins had been cut off, as they were coming to join them, by the Outawas. Bouiffon sent out to inform the French Indians of his danger; but they were gone on a hunting party. Having taken all precautions against a surprise, he understood that they were on their march to relieve him. These consisted of the Outawas, headed by a chief, one Saguima, who had cut off the Mascontins; the Hurons, the Pouteouatamis, the Sakis, the Malhomines, the Illinois, the Osages, and the Missourites; each of whom had a particular standard. "Seest thou that smoke," said the Hurons to this Saguima, (to animate him the more to vengeance,) "it arises from the flames that are now consuming thy wife."—When the confederates approached the fort, Du Buiffon ordered them to be admitted, and, after addressing them in a most affectionate, pathetic manner, they were furnished

furnished with refreshments of all kinds, and even with ammunition and warlike stores.

The Outagamis had erected a fort within musket-shot of that of Detroit, where they waited for their enemies. The besiegers sheltered themselves in an adjoining house, against which Du Buiffon ordered cannon to be brought. After this, the Outagamis demanded a parley, which he would not grant without consent of the chiefs of his allies, whose opinion, upon consultation, was for it, that they might draw out of their hands three of their women, whom the besieged held prisoners; and the next morning Pemoussa, the chief of the Outagamis, was admitted into the assembly of the confederates, where he presented Du Buiffon with two captives and a belt, and the chiefs with the same, and begged for a delay of two days, that they might consult their elders upon the means of appeasing their father's wrath. Du Buiffon told Pemoussa, that he could enter into no farther treaty with his people, till they sent him the three women, one of whom was the wife of Saguima. Pemoussa's answer was, that he could say nothing on that head till he had consulted the elders; and, having obtained a farther respite, he returned with a flag in his hand, attended by two Mascontin chiefs, and the three women whom he presented to the governor, who referred him to the chiefs of his allies, for what was farther to be done, on the Outagamis demanding liberty to be gone.

Upon

Upon this, the chief of the Illinois gave *Pemoussa* to understand that his people were to expect no mercy unless they surrendered at discretion; but he gave them liberty to re-enter the fort, and to make the best defence they could. They accordingly did so, and the fire on both sides being renewed, the besieged made so vigorous a resistance, that, by discharging arrows with lighted matches, they set on fire several houses in the French settlement, which obliged the besiegers to cover the remaining ones with skins. This resolute defence so greatly dispirited the French and the savages, that the latter were on the point of re-imbarking for *Michillimackinac*; but *Du Buiffon* found means to detain them by presenting them with every thing he was master of, and then the war-song was renewed, which gave the besieged to understand, that they had now no safety to expect, unless they accepted the terms proposed. They then begged for some farther time, and they were permitted to send a fresh deputation to the camp of the besiegers, who, notwithstanding all their earnest instances, still insisted upon their surrendering at discretion; and *Du Buiffon* said it was with difficulty that he hindered his savages from putting the deputies to death. They were suffered to return to their fort, from whence all of them escaped under the favour of a tempestuous night, after enduring, for nineteen days, under all the exigencies of nature, a most vigorous siege by very superior numbers.

In

In the morning the French and their savages pursued them, and found them intrenched on a little tongue of land near the island of St. Clare. Here they were again besieged; but their defence for four days was so brave, that the French commandant was obliged to bring up the heavy artillery to force their entrenchments, upon which they surrendered at discretion. All who were found in arms were immediately put to death; the others were divided as slaves among the confederate Indians.

Vaudreuil now applied himself to the re-establishment of the post of Michillimakinac, which had suffered greatly during the late commotions; and to which he sent proper officers and agents, to re-unite the savages in one common interest; but these could not be persuaded to forbear their traffic with the English, in which they found so great advantage, and in which they were followed even by the colonized savages; while the state of the French affairs in Europe was so low, that they could receive from thence no relief. The goods sent from France to Canada, were so trifling in their value, that the merchants there had no returns to make equal to the furs imported by the savages, who, for that reason, were obliged to throw into the hands of the English, by far the greater part of the fur trade. Before the treaty of Utrecht was concluded, the governors of New France and New England received positive orders

from their respective sovereigns to desist from hostilities. The Abenaguais, who remained firm to the French, were then carrying their ravages into the heart of New England. As these were, of all the savages, the most irreconcilable to the English government. Nothing was omitted on the part of the latter to win them over. They erected a free-school at the mouth of the River Kennebek, and appointed a minister, who was to board and teach their young at the public expence: But all was in vain, so strong were the delusions of their missionaries. The governors of New England and New York very wisely bore this with patience; so that the Indians, by degrees, even encouraged the erecting of storehouses upon their lands, till they saw them multiply so fast, that they expressed their jealousy of them. The English then remonstrated, that their whole country had, by treaty, become the property of the crown of England. The savages, though amazed at this, very sensibly complained to Vaudreuil; he told them, that no mention was made either of them or their lands, in the treaty of Utrecht. There could be no doubt with regard to the spirit and meaning of the treaty of Utrecht; but, from the moment that peace was concluded, the government of New France, from considering the Abenaguais as slaves, affected to treat them as independant, and maintained amongst them an interest separate from the crown of England,

land, which was extremely pleasing to the natural vanity of those savages.

The English found a great obstacle to the conformity of the Indians, in the person of one Rasse, an active zealous Jesuit, who had long resided amongst them as a missionary, and had gotten such a possession of their affections, that they implicitly followed his dictates in every thing. Being an enthusiast for his country, as well as religion, he omitted nothing that could keep up the aversion of the Abenaguais towards the English. It was in vain the latter, (who every day felt his influence with the savages) insisted upon his being dismissed out of their nation, and sent to Québec; and, at last, they were obliged not only to set a reward on his head, but to make an attempt to possess themselves of his person, in which they failed. This attack upon their favourite Jesuit exasperated the savages more than that which had been made upon their independancy. They sent deputies among all their brethren and allies, to meet them at Narrantsouak, and began, by demolishing the English settlements on the banks of the rivers, where they destroyed all the lands and houses, but without offering any farther violence to the persons of the inhabitants, than by confining five of them as hostages for their deputies, who were prisoners at Boston. The English, on the other hand, broke into Narrantsouak, where they shot the pestilent missionary dead, burnt the cabins, plundered

the church, and some of the inhabitants, who opposed them, while others fled; and this severity, for some time, restored tranquility to New England, but was far from reconciling the Abenaguais to the British government. The English said, that they were in danger of losing all the acquisitions they had made in Acadia, and Newfoundland, by the treaty of Utrecht, through the inhabitants, French as well as savages, making use of the liberty which that treaty left them, to retire to Cape Breton; and therefore they gave them such indulgences, that they did not seem to remember, their having changed their sovereign.

They openly traded with Cape Breton, then in the French possession. They acknowledged neither laws nor language, but what were French, and their priests publicly performed their sacerdotal functions, as if popery had been the established religion of the country. Richards very sensibly endeavoured to abridge those impolitic indulgences, both in Acadia and Newfoundland; but he was not supported in this wise measure, which, if executed, might have prevented a vast effusion of blood and treasure, by the government at home. King George I. indeed at that time, had some great connexions with the regent of France; but it was an unpardonable oversight to dispense with the French Canadians and Acadians, as well as the savages, who had become subjects of Great Britain,

tain, taking an oath of fidelity to that crown *.

The Outagamis, notwithstanding the blow they had received in the affair of Detroit, were more exasperated than ever against the French. They infested all the communications between the colony and its most distant posts, robbing and murdering passengers; and in this they succeeded so well that they brought over the Sioux to join them openly, while many of the Iroquois favoured them underhand. In short, there was some danger of a general confederacy amongst all the savages against the French. This made Vaudreuil resolve, if possible, to exterminate the Outagamis out of Canada, and he invited all his allies to join him. Louvigny, the king's lieutenant at Quebec, was named to command the expedition; and he was soon at the head of eight hundred men, so determined against the Outagamis, that the extirpation of the race was no longer doubted of. They were themselves of the same opinion, and they lay intrenched, to the

* The English were able, at that time, upon the same continent, to bring sixty thousand fighting men into the field. Vaudreuil, the governor-general of Canada, said, in his letter to Pontchartrain, the French minister. "Canada contains actually
" no more than four thousand four hundred inhabitants, able to
" bear arms, and the twenty-eight companies of marines, paid by
" the king, amount in number to six hundred twenty-eight soldiers." In the same letter, he laid down a very sensible scheme here, for the better peopling of his government, by transporting thither convicts and galley-slaves.

number of five hundred warriors, and three thousand women, in a kind of palisadoed fort, before which Louvigny formally opened trenches, having with him two field pieces, and a mortar for throwing grenades *.

Louvigny had private instructions from his principals not to push matters to extremity, and brought the Indians to consent to what terms he proposed. He obliged the Outagamis to give six sons of six of their chief leaders, as hostages for their sending deputies to ratify the peace at Montreal with the governor-general; and the treaty being ingrossed, contained an express cession of their country to the French; of which, it is probable, the savages were ignorant. Unfortunately the small-pox, which raged next winter, carried off three of the hostages, together with the famous Outagamis chief, Pemoussa, before the treaty was ratified. This alarmed Vaudreuil so much that he went upon the ice to Montreal, from whence he dispatched Louvigny to Michillimakinac, with an order to execute the terms of the treaty, and to

* When Louvigny was preparing to spring a mine, they desired to capitulate, and their terms were rejected. They afterwards proposed others. First, That the Outagamis and their confederates should make peace with the French and their allies. Secondly, That they should previously release all their prisoners. Thirdly, That they should replace the dead by slaves, whom they were to make prisoners from the distant nations they were at war with; and, Fourthly, That they should pay the charge of the war.

bring

bring the chiefs of the Outagamis to Montreal, together with all the rangers in those parts, to whom his most christian majesty had granted a free pardon for what had passed. Louvigny set out at the end of May, 1717, and carried along with him one of the surviving hostages, who had lost an eye by the small-pox, that he might bear testimony to his nation, with what tenderness he and his companions had been treated. As soon as he arrived at Michillimakinac, he dispatched the hostage, attended by two French interpreters, with presents for covering the dead hostages, to the Outagamis. This was so agreeable to those savages, that they talked of nothing but a lasting peace with the French. They then declared to the interpreters their gratitude to Ononthio, though they said, for some particular reasons, they could not wait upon him till next year: but never would forget that they owed their lives entirely to his clemency. The hostage and the interpreters then set out to rejoin Louvigny at Michillimakinac; but, after travelling about twenty leagues, he left them, it being proper, as he said, to return home, that he might keep his countrymen to their promise.

The hostage however was never heard of after, neither did they send any deputies to the governor-general; so that all the fruit, which Louvigny and Vaudreuil reaped from this laborious journey, was the bringing back the French rangers, and engaging some of the savages to bring their furs in
greater

greater quantities to the colony, than they had done for some years before. The reason the Outagamis gave for this breach of faith, when they afterwards met with the French in their excursions, was, that they had no idea that an enemy, who had been provoked beyond a certain measure, could ever be a reconciled friend. They were afterwards beaten in several encounters, and yet they forced the Illinois to abandon their settlements upon their river ; where they formed a plantation, which rendered the communication between Canada and Louifiana extremely dangerous, notwithstanding all the losses they had sustained ; and had, by this time, formed an alliance with the Sioux, the most numerous nation belonging to Canada, and with the Chichacas, or Chickesaws, the bravest nation in all Louifiana.

In 1725, New France enjoyed a tranquility, it had seldom known, and which greatly advanced both its populousness and prosperity ; but the loss of the *Camel*, a French ship of war, which was wrecked near Louisbourg, with every person on board, gave it a great blow. Besides its rich cargo, the intendant of Canada, Louvigny, who had been appointed to the government of Trois Rivières, a son of Ramezay, who the year before had died governor of Montreal, together with a great number of the officers of the colony, and ecclesiastics of all denominations, perished in the wreck. To heighten this misfortune, the marquis De Vaudreuil

dreuil himself died in the October following, greatly lamented by the whole colony, and was succeeded in his government by the chevalier De Beauharnois, who had none of his predecessor's difficulties to struggle with; and nothing occurs remarkable in the history of Canada, but that, by the tranquillity it enjoyed, for some time, its French inhabitants amounted to above seventy thousand. In the year 1746, the encroachments they made upon the undoubted property of the English in America, had awakened our government to a sense of its danger. A British secretary of state, by order of his majesty, required all the British governors in North America, to raise as many independent companies as they could, of a hundred men each. Those of New York, New Jerseys, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, were to be formed into one corps, under the command of brigadier Gooch, lieutenant-governor of Virginia. The colonies were to furnish levy-money and victualling; but his majesty was to be at the charge of arming, paying, and cloathing those troops. Those vast preparations in America, which were to be seconded by a suitable armament from Europe, were destined for the reduction of Canada; and the whole was to be under the command of general Sinclair. The English colonies, therefore, proceeded with their levies. Virginia sent two companies, Maryland three, Pennsylvania four, the Jerseys five, and New York fifteen; all to be under the command of Gooch; and first to reduce Crown

Quebec, under general Sinclair
proceeding against Montreal;
was to command the fleet;
preparations in England, as it i
in a successful attempt upon
France, which is yet fresh i
memory.

Meanwhile the French sent
could spare from Canada to Mi
and omitted no opportunity of
destroying the English settlements
Canadians receiving intelligence
rations making against them in
arrived at Minas, at the head
men, consisting of marines, regu
tia, wood-rangers, and French Ir
was to act in concert with a stre
fitting out at Brest, under th
That armament consisted of ele
ships, some frigates, two fire-shi

retake and dismantle Louisbourg, which was then in the hands of the English. He was then to proceed against Port Royale, now called Annapolis Royal, in Acadia, which he was to take and garrison. He was next to destroy Boston; then to range along the coasts of North America; and, at last, to pay a visit to the British sugar islands. D'Anville, setting sail, detached three of his capital ships and a frigate, under the command of M. Conflans, to convoy the French trade to Cape François in Hispaniola. The orders of Conflans were to return, and join the grand squadron under D'Anville; but, after cruising along the Cape Sable shore, between Cape Negro and Cape Sambro, without receiving any intelligence of D'Anville, he bore away directly for France; where he arrived without meeting with any interruption.

The fleet, after undergoing a most tedious passage, and suffering in a storm near Cape Sable, it arrived on the tenth of September, at Chebucto in Nova Scotia, where D'Anville himself died, as did half of his people of scorbutic putrid fevers and dysenteries. Though an English squadron was then lying at Cape Breton, under admiral Townshend, the French remained unmolested at Chebucto amidst all their distress. About the end of September, Ramezay encamped near Annapolis, with a shew of besieging it; but the Chester man of war of fifty guns, a frigate and a schooner being in the harbour, and the French fleet departing to France, he decamped on the the twenty-second of

October, and returned to Minas, where he wintered, that he might be in readiness to join the French fleet, and land troops that were expected in the spring from France, to reduce Annapolis, which, by this time, was re-inforced by three companies of volunteers from Boston. The English governor of Annapolis, had laid a scheme for preventing the bad consequences of French influence in that neighbourhood, by procuring a re-inforcement from New England, which was accordingly granted; but their numbers did not answer his expectations. However, between four and five hundred men arrived in the middle of December, at Minas, and a detachment set out for Annapolis on the twenty-ninth of January, while the others were quartered at Grand Pre, in a very loose, scattered, and unfoldier-like manner. The French were sufficiently informed of this, and on the eighth of January they set out from Chiconecto, and arrived at Minas the thirty-first of the same month. About three in the morning, having distributed their force, which consisted of about six hundred, into small parties, they attacked the English, and murdered many of them. Colonel Noble, who was the commander, and the lieutenants Lechemere, Jones, Pickering, ensign Noble, with about seventy serjeants, corporals, and private men, were killed, and about as many taken prisoners; at last the English formed themselves into a body, and surrendered upon capitulation.

In 1747, the junction of the Brest and Rochfort squadrons

squadrons was effected at Rochelle. Their destination was to the East Indies and to Canada, and their equipment of this squadron was no secret in England. As it threatened the destruction of our Asian, as well as our American settlements, the admirals Anson and Warren sailed from Plymouth to Cape Finisterre, on the coast of Galicia, and in May met with the French squadron, which immediately formed a line of battle, consisting of their chief ships of war, while the others, under the protection of their frigates, made all the sail they could to the place of their destination. The English ships were likewise drawn up; but Warren, observed, that the real design of the French was rather to fly than fight; and therefore he persuaded Anson, to haul in the signal for the line, and to hoist out one for the chase. After an obstinate contest, the English proved the victors, the enemy having lost six of their men of war, and all their India vessels, and a vast number of Frenchmen were made prisoners; seven hundred of them were killed and wounded; and the English lost about five hundred. This defeat totally destroyed all the hopes Ramezay, had entertained of reducing Nova Scotia, and he returned to Canada, not a little chagrined at the dreadful issue of the encounter.

A scheme had been formerly laid for purchasing some lands from the Outawas upon the River Ohio, a project which proved very disagreeable to the French, because it was likely to interfere with their Mississippi scheme; but it was not carried into execution; on the contrary, the French erected

trading to Virginia, having be-
settled on the banks of the Ohio, and
an exclusive trade with the Indians
to take a plan of the country
which much displeased and alarmed
and their jealousies were increased
found it their advantage to some
undertakers lost all their interest in
country, while their neighbours
themselves as strong as possible at
Lake Erie, even upon lands that
of Great Britain could produce
These things being known to the
governor of Virginia, he alarmed
himself, and even sent one major
a remonstrance to the French
built on the River au Becuf, which
self into the Ohio; — he received
answer to this, planned out a
of the river, but the British

la Chapelle was only to proceed with as little interruption as possible in erecting forts and securing passes which might form lines of communication between their most distant settlements, and to confine the English on every side: in particular, they aimed to restrict all the claims of the latter in Nova Scotia to the Peninsula of that name; while these justly insisted upon their right to all the ancient Acadia, as ceded by the treaty of Utrecht.

In the mean time, the town of Hallifax had been erected by the English, as we have already taken notice in a former part of our history, under the auspices of the earl of that name.

Notwithstanding all the faith of treaties, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the English, their enemies no sooner saw this settlement well peopled, than they went on with their old practices of stirring up the Indians against the new colonists, many of whom were murdered, and others carried prisoners to the Canadian settlements; while even the Indian parties were headed by French officers; and notwithstanding repeated complaints, no redress for these grievances could be obtained; though while the French were employed in this manner in America, they pretended to debate upon the claims of each nation at Paris; where the English and French commissaries met for this purpose. The history of their disputes is too long to be here inserted; but it may suffice to say, that they were not well conducted on either part; and as to the French, their claims were equally unfair and ridiculous



in Canada were produced in 1756. At length the English having that a fleet was ready to sail no longer to be trifled with, and a fleet ordered to sail with twelve men of the line and a frigate under Admiral Holbourne, while the French orders to his ambassador, to intimidate armament acted upon the officer the first gun that should be fired light as a declaration of war.

Boscawen arriving at Newfoundland off Cape Race, and soon after de la Mothe arrived with the French the same coast, but the English of a thick fog could not discern means they escaped an engagement vessels, named the Alcide and departed from the coast.







